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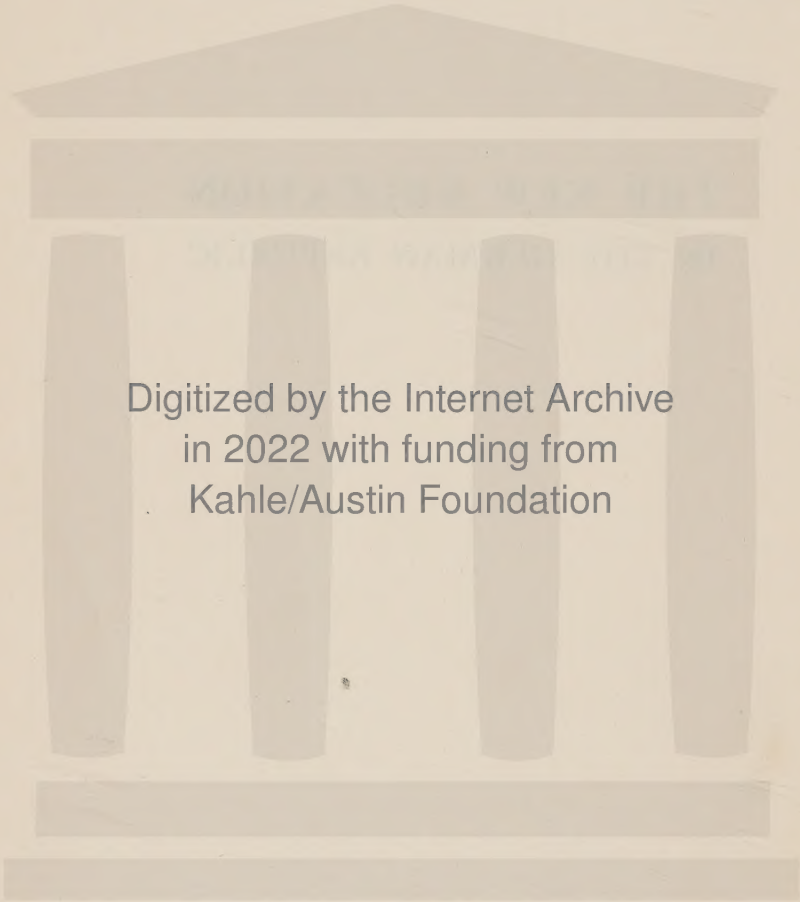
IN THE GERMAN REPUBLIC



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THE NEW EDUCATION
IN THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

BY THOMAS ALEXANDER
AND BERYL PARKER

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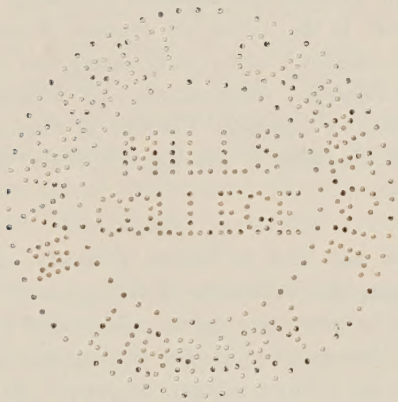

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

THOMAS ALEXANDER was born in Smicksburg, Pennsylvania, in 1887. He was educated at the Missouri State Normal School, Columbia University, and the University of Jena in Germany. In 1907, after gaining his first teaching experience as principal of the public schools in Kirksville, Missouri, he joined the faculty of Robert College in Constantinople. He returned to the United States in 1910 and during the next three years taught at the Heathcote Preparatory School in New York. In 1912 he went to Europe for special study and as exchange teacher, from Columbia University, at the *Real gymnasium* in Stettin, Germany. From 1914 to 1924 he was professor of elementary education at the George Peabody College for Teachers. Since 1924 he has been professor of education and associate at the International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University. He visited Germany again in 1926, 1927 and 1929 to join in conferences with German and American educators.

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Miss Parker has contributed articles to *Progressive Education*, *The New Era*, *Independent Education*, and *Childhood Education*.

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PREFACE

FOR ten years Americans have viewed with keen interest Germany's progress in fitting old institutions to the needs of the new republic. The fresh interpretation of democracy by a great modern nation revives some of the questions that confronted our forefathers a century and a half ago and causes us to examine anew the institutions they planned. The New Education in Germany is the hope of their republic just as the common school system in the United States is the support of our democratic government.

A professor of English at a German university states that there has been no reform in the German schools. He represents a large number of university and secondary school people who belong to the old order and are loath to admit that the new form of government and the cultural changes coming with it have made any contribution to German civilization. His statement argues only the lack of understanding such men have with reference to the common schools of their own country. It is true that there has been less reform in the universities and secondary schools than in the elementary schools. With the coming of democracy there was naturally greater need for a change in institutions for the lower classes, because the upper classes had already provided quite adequately for themselves.

In this book we have attempted to interpret the spirit of the new education in Germany rather than to present the whole system in detail. There are many important centers of experiment besides those described but the latter are typical of present tendencies. It has been difficult to make a single important statement with which any three German educators will agree. For this reason we ask the indulgence of German readers when they find statements which are in sharp contradiction to their own beliefs. We ask them merely to take any one conviction of their own and submit it to ten German educators chosen at random. If they do this they will find at least five radically different points of view. For errors in facts we apologize. With rapidly shifting regulations and school laws it is impossible to be absolutely certain that a more recent change has not altered

statements given here. Furthermore, the lack of uniformity in the present school system of Germany makes false for one school what is true for another.

We are definitely interested in the promotion of cultural relations between the United States and Germany. For that reason we wish to say that every statement made in this book is made in the spirit of real friendship and appreciation for the German people. The reader should remember that adverse criticisms of the German schools and many descriptions of conditions twenty years ago were also true at that time of educational institutions in many other countries. Some of them are still true to a certain extent, not only of conservative schools in Germany but also of some schools in other European countries and in the New World. It would be erroneous to ascribe to Germany alone and to pre-war conditions the faults in education and in juvenile life which have other causes than those springing from a form of government. It is well to recall how interest in sport, outdoor life, art, social welfare and community coöperation has advanced almost everywhere within the last two or three decades. It would be just as misleading to attribute all the weaknesses of education before the war to Germany as it would be false to assume that she is the only country now making progress in school reform.

Within the scope of this book it is not possible to recognize similar lines of development in other countries but many of the movements noted here have become world wide. Some German educators say that they would have had a national school reform without war and revolution—on a sounder basis and more speedily. That statement is open to question, but it is common knowledge that the shock of the World War caused every nation involved to reëxamine its schools and to undertake new ventures in popular education.

In conclusion we wish to express our thanks to a great number of German friends who have contributed to this study during the last four years. We acknowledge our special indebtedness to Oberstudiendirektor Dr. Fritz Karsen, Oberschulrat Wilhelm Paulsen, Professor Dr. Peter Petersen, Oberschulrat Franz Hilker, Geheim- und Regierungsrat Dr. Otto Karstädt, Regierungs-und Oberschulrat Erich Hylla, Frau Dr. Dora Wagner, Oberlandeschulrat Sebald Schwarz, Direktor Dr. Paul Geheeb, Professor Dr. Gustav Deuchler, Professor Dr. H. Theodor Becker, Professor Dr. Georg Raeder-

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THE AUTHORS

CONTENTS

PREFACE vii

INTRODUCTION xvii

School reforms in Germany the resultant of conflict between conservatives and radicals. Political, religious and educational issues. Governmental reorganization supported by the reorganized school system. Elementary, middle, secondary and vocational schools. Teacher training and adult education. University stability. Expectations of the American observer. Minimum supervision and maximum independence for teachers. Schools that endeavor to re-form society.

PART ONE

PHENOMENA OF THE NEW EDUCATION

I. REVOLUTION TOUCHES THE SCHOOLS . . . 3

Impressions of the pre-war elementary schools. Post-war radicalism in school reform. Community Schools. Excursions, Hostels and Country Homes. New ideals in average public schools. Education for democracy. Freedom, experiment, waste, reaction, progress. Problem of training teachers. Controversial questions.

II. THE YOUTH MOVEMENT 12

Ancient purification rites. German youth's protest in 1913. A century of unrest. Sports, outdoor life, religious and social clubs. The *Wandervögel*—recreation, romance, free thought and association. Moral standards, social equality and native culture. Homes. Rights of youth. Resistance to tradition and militarism. War and despair. Reconstruction days. National unity and spiritual values. Variety of organizations and interests. Influence on schools, workers and leisure pursuits. Sex problems. Meaning, extent and continuation of the Youth Movement.

III. HOSTELS FOR YOUTH 38

Frequency and varied character. Type of guests. Development before and after the war. Spread to other countries. German habit and need of "wandering." Physical, instructional and social values. School coöperation. Model *Herberge*. Cost and support. Publicity, organization and management.

IV. School Journeys 50

Classes outside the schoolroom. Exploring the environment. Exchange of visits. Monthly *Wandertag*. Varieties of experience. Convenience and cost of travel. Types of excursions by kindergarten, elementary, secondary and university groups. Main objectives.

V. Country Homes for City Schools . . . 67

Schullandheim, a school annex. Welfare bureau, teachers' associations, private schools and Central Institute as promoters. Physical, social and instructional values. Children's Village. Types of Homes—location, buildings, cost, food, service, heat, rest, medical care. Evidence of recuperation. Types of school work for elementary and secondary pupils. Community life.

VI. Sports and Recreation 84

A nation at play. Pre-war amusements and decorous standards. Physical education then and now. Games, swimming, boating, gymnastics and rhythms. Outdoor exercise and simple clothing. Sun and air baths. University athletics. Sport clubs and partisan associations. Play rebuilding health, supplanting military training and developing *esprit de corps*. Olympic games. Connection with other welfare movements and educational ideals.

VII. Art and the Creative Spirit 96

Art and school reforms. Lichtwark's type of growth. Early conferences on art education. School and society. Native culture. Teaching profession. Blighting effect of school methods. Art and life. Drawing, language and physical education. Organic growth of natural creative powers. Lichtwark's influence. Art in the schools. Experience and expression. Art teachers. Jöde's philosophy of music. Experience, growth, unity and creative activity. Folk music. Essence of musical standards. Music in the schools. Dancing, dramatics and *Sprechchor*. Influence of art and music teachers. National interest in esthetic development.

PART TWO

Vanguard Schools

VIII. Pre-war School Experiments 119

Influence of eighteenth century schools. Decline of liberalism. Kerschensteiner and the *Activity School*. Experiments at Dort-

mund, Augsburg, Leipzig, Dresden and Munich. Free traditions in Hamburg. Differences between school experiments before and after the war. Suggestions for increasing the value of educational experiments.

IX. Community Schools 132

A sociological experiment. Freedom for pupils and teachers. Coöperation of parents. Life in a Community School—pupils, leaders, teachers and classrooms. Learning through activities. A School's Country Home. Integrated instruction, courses and projects. History of these experiments. Paulsen's statement of their purposes. Stand on religion, socialism, *Jugendkultur* and coeducation. Service to the national school reform.

X. Three Pioneers in Secondary Education . . 156

The Lichtwark School in Hamburg, a *Deutsche Oberschule*. Building a curriculum around *Kulturkunde*, the study of civilization. Electives in the "core and course system" of the Lübeck Cathedral School, an *Oberrealschule*. Expanded enrollment, student government and parents' council. The Neukölln *Aufbauschule* expanding into an *Einheitsschule*. Activity groups at work. A building designed for the new type of school.

XI. The Lietz Country Home Schools . . . 179

Modern schools for thirty years. Source of Lietz's ideas. Protest and purposes. Environment of the schools. A day in the L.E.H. Learning and labor. Moral education. Courses and instructors. Adaptation to pupils' needs. Teachers and "educators." Individualistic schools in conference. Influence on the Austrian B.E.A. Contribution of the L.E.H. to German school reforms.

XII. Other Progressive Private Schools . . . 197

Status of public and private secondary schools. Free School Communities. Philosophy and music at Wickersdorf. Social ideals and group courses in the Odenwald School. Dramatics in the School-by-the-Sea. Labor and study in the Solling School. A festival at Gandersheim. Social education in the Berthold Otto School. Anthroposophy in the Free Waldorf School. Official recognition of private school experiments.

XIII. Folk Colleges 215

The adult's right to a liberal education. Pre-war centers. Libraries and museums. Folk College the result of coöperation between workers and educators. School of philosophy and opin-

ion. International interests. Evening schools. Courses. Resident colleges. Autonomy and support. Freedom from academic regulations. Meeting needs of clientele. Criticism from radical, bourgeois and university groups. Standards of adult education. Problem of dialects, regions, and partisan press. Contribution to national unity and school reform.

PART THREE

STATUS OF THE NEW EDUCATION

XIV. IS THE SCHOOL REFORM PERMANENT? 243

Legal provisions for democratic control of education by national, state and local bodies. Suggestions supplant regulations. Extended provisions for public education. Period of compulsory attendance and continuation school work. Unified organization of school system. Ability the criterion for admission to secondary schools. Religious instruction. Teacher training. Professional supervisors. Education for citizenship. Parents and the schools.

XV. THE AVERAGE SCHOOL TO-DAY 254

Distinguishing the new school from the old. A city elementary school. A girls' middle school. A rural village school. The changed attitude toward parents. Their official organizations and some contributions made. Discussion of vocational guidance at a monthly "Parents' Evening." Education by and for the people.

XVI. SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRESS 268

Apparent advance in secondary schools. Actual conservatism. Increased enrollments. "Open road for the capable." Main types of schools and curricula for boys. Types of schools and curricula for girls. The new *Frauenschule*. Limitations of the secondary school reform.

XVII. CURRICULA OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS 282

Expanded aims of elementary education. Integration of subjects in centers of interest. Recognition of the individual's tastes and needs. The place of activities and laboratory courses. Influence of the state departments of education. Relation of elementary and secondary school curricula. Nationalism and unity as objectives in secondary education. International conciliation. The demands of modern life and the pre-vocational

character of secondary courses. Prussian "suggestions." Core subjects. Characteristic subjects for different school types. Unity, continuity and concentration. Lessening the pupil's load. Home study days. Leeway for new and experimental types of schools.

XVIII. Examinations for the Selection of Pupils . 297

Ability the criterion for admission to upper levels of the school system. Selection of pupils for differentiated courses. Enrichment preferred to acceleration. Transfer from the *Grundschule* based on health, personality, achievement and mentality. Stern's test for gifted pupils. Döring's procedure for city-wide selection. Protest over depletion of upper elementary classes. Test devised by Bobertag and Hylla. Examinations unimportant in elementary schools. The maturity examination for secondary school graduation and university entrance. Senior thesis; oral and written examination. Regard for compensation, special ability and total personality. Growing importance of case studies and records.

XIX. The New Teacher 319

Teachers in the old schools. Former distinctions within the profession. Present faculty councils. Men and women teachers in relation to the reform. New comradeship between pupils and teachers. Abandonment of the normal schools. Constitutional provision for university standards in teacher training. Prussian teachers colleges. University institutes of education. Practice teaching. Institute schools and public elementary classes. Examinations and appointment. Training of secondary school teachers and the candidate's probation years. In-service training. Professional study groups. Central Institute and other educational associations. A teachers' convention. Growing interest in scientific education as a means of stabilizing the school reform.

XX. A Philosophy of Education 346

German faith in education and theory. Present philosophy regarding society, man and the school. The purpose of society from the standpoint of democracy, nationalism and socialism. Humanitarianism of the Youth Movement. Ideal of *Gemeinschaft*. Mechanism weakened by a new humanism. Theories of experience, structural psychology and personality. Schools to give freedom, offer experience and foster social spirit. Types of the *Activity School*. Resolving the conflict between personal liberty, society and the cultural inheritance. Contacts with monism, psychoanalysis, vitalism and various cults.

Conclusion 367

Differences between schools of the empire and those of the republic. Unification, freer transfer and opportunity according to ability. Democratization, leveling of castes, all round education. Individual rights. Pupil activity. University standards in teacher training. Stability of institutions for higher learning. Conflicts that remain. Courage of reformers in breaking traditions. Germany's "latest and most exalted educational ideal."

Appendix 375

Explanatory Figures for the Accompanying Charts

Chart 1. Organization of the School System for Boys.
" 2. Organization of the School System for Girls.
" 3. Distribution of the Pupils by Years in the Different Types of Schools.

Selected Bibliography 381

Index 383

INTRODUCTION

"Educational ideals are the expression of national self-appraisal."
BECKER

GERMAN school reforms since the war are the resultant of two forces. On the one hand there have been at work the evolving traditions of a well organized school system which had been brought up to a high level of efficiency during the empire. The hold of classicism on German culture, the high standards of their academic institutions, and general habituation to an authoritative system of government have tended to perpetuate conservative practices and to check radicalism in the schools of the republic.

On the other hand, in spite of the conservatives, there has arisen a stream of idealistic and progressive tendencies, many of them deeply rooted in the romantic philosophy of the past and others engendered by the swift, social changes of the modern era. The release brought by the political revolution, the social idealism of the Youth Movement, the general mania for recreation, the popularity of modern trends in art, and a re-statement of philosophy, have all been operative in freeing the schools from the bonds of an outworn tradition. Before 1918 these were only minority movements. Now they have swept the majority of schools and teachers into mass action that is slowly transforming the educational institutions of Germany into a national public school system that will better fit the ideals of democracy.

The German school reform is on a scale of magnitude that commands attention. It is all the more deserving of the interest of educators throughout the modern world because it involves reëxamination of social concepts and because it is a conscious attempt to integrate democracy and education. The essential changes in the German schools are those that may be expected whenever a nation gives up a monarchical form of government and takes on the character of a democracy. At once equality of educational opportunity, scope for individual activity and closer unity between various parts of the school system are demanded.

Freedom and conformity, anarchy and order are the forces that have been struggling for supremacy in the schools of the new German Republic for ten years. The battle is not yet over, nor does either side any longer expect a decisive victory, for the strength of each is too great to yield much ground to the other. Freedom in German school affairs implies the rejection of rigid, stultifying, bureaucratic control of institutions that really belong to the people of the nation and to the teachers and pupils whose lives are bound up with the fate of the schools. It demands the release of vital forces that lie within the schools themselves and are capable of directing their own course if given liberty of action. It calls for open recognition of human values that have too often been crushed by the weight of elaborate administrative machinery.

The schools of the German Empire represented a great achievement in national regimentation, and the idealistic schools of the German Republic represent an equally great promise for national humanization. Even within a decade much of the bitterness of this educational controversy has worn off and both sides realize how necessary they are to one another, and how much each has to contribute to the common task of re-shaping a nation's school system in order to rebuild her strength. Both are more ready to lay down theoretical contentions and to respond to the actual demands of a changing modern era. The schools that trained the Kaiser's subjects were not well-fitted for the task of educating the republic's citizens. Nor could the social idealists of the new epoch face the problem of reorganizing a national school system without falling back at times on established procedures. The day of compromise and legal adjustment of differences has come but it was preceded by many bitter arguments.

The venerable traditions of pre-war schools came into conflict with idealistic theories and practices that appeared anarchistic in their rejection of set forms and official control. After the war freedom and autonomy won the field for a time to a degree that threatened to uproot good and bad elements alike in the procedure of the old schools. But the inertia of the mass prevented widespread submission to sudden changes and checked radical experiments. Custom and logic prevailed over revolutionary excitement, so that the schools to-day show many fundamental traits inherited from the past combined with several novel features adopted during the

period of flux. The persistence of good traditions was necessary to form a solid structure wherein liberal ideas might be incorporated. Prejudice against new theories declined as the radical educators themselves became more moderate and reacted against the more extreme phases of their school revolution. During a period of rapid, deep-reaching changes even conservative people become accustomed to innovations. The very frequency of the challenge to argument blunts opposition, and many reforms creep into common practice almost unnoticed by the general public, however much of a furor the new ideas may have caused at an earlier stage and however hotly they may still be debated by specialists.

German intellectuals and teachers in particular delight in pedagogical wars. The resentment many of the latter felt for changes in the schools has been mollified as they begin to trace the causes of reform and realize that much which appeared new and revolutionary, actually had deep roots in the past and had produced occasional fruits that were little noticed before, but whose seeds became widely scattered and awaited only favorable conditions to yield a considerable harvest of progressive theories and practices. To many educators the explanation of origin gives respectability to a new school movement and is almost as gratifying as victory in the debate.

But the struggle for possession of the schools and decision on what should be taught in them and how instruction should be conducted has not been merely a debate between pedagogues. It has been an open war between political and church parties, each trying to gain control of the youth of the land in order to advance factional interests. The older generation was accustomed to the use of the schools for indoctrination according to the purposes of the empire. It seemed to many of them legitimate to repeat the same procedure for new purposes that they believed would advance the welfare of the republic. They had not reached the point of real tolerance where the use of a nation's schools for any sort of partisan propaganda is considered a violation of that fundamental principle of democracy in education which grants to each the liberty of his own beliefs so long as the resulting words and acts do no harm to others and allow equal freedom to all.

Nationalists and communists, Lutherans and free-thinkers alike looked on the German schools as the institutions that were shaping the opinions of the rising generation, and each group injected into

discussions of school questions some of the bitter rancor that existed between rival parties. Educational issues became confused with party interests and many a step forward was lost because of fluctuations in politics during the first stormy years of the republic. If the champions of progressive education happened to ally themselves with a liberal party, as was usually the case, they forfeited their gains in school reform when a conservative political reaction overwhelmed them at the polls and carried their officials out of power.

At the close of the war the masses of the German people were in such a bewildered mental state, and their first essays at reconstruction were so groping, that this confusion gave ingress to a degree of radicalism which seldom gets a hold on the affairs of an entire nation. The foundations of their world were so shaken that anything new and unknown seemed possible. It was the first time this generation had watched the breakdown of institutions that had seemed to them impregnable. It was the only time they had seen the unchecked rise of social undercurrents.

Many Germans felt that no one could predict what the new government would mean in the lives of the people and, therefore, they could not prepare for it by definite reorganization of the schools. Some with their gaze on Russia were expecting still more radical changes in the social order, not only in Germany but throughout the world, and they thought it folly to restate the purposes and procedure of education in definite form when no one knew what the future might bring. Their doctrine was, "Live fully in the present and you will thus be best prepared for the problems of each new day."

Others shrank from the risks of an uncertain future and made desperate efforts to resist change and to return to the old *status* whenever a vestige of hope for its restoration appeared. Such people easily forgot the evils of the past epoch and saw only the glorious achievements of the empire, just as their opponents were blind to much that was good in the immediate past and saw only the promise of the future. Many of the latter were led by a fair dream of creating a new social order. They seemed to live under the delusion that they could escape from the present entirely and begin everything afresh. They elevated childhood and youth to the height of divinities whom they followed as symbols of a new beginning and a hopeful future.

The deciding factor that threw the balance in favor of school reform was the firm establishment of the German Republic after two abortive attempts at counter-revolution. The constitution devoted ten articles to public education, a fuller treatment than is accorded the subject in any other national bill of rights. As the new measures went into effect in the schools there was actually little upheaval because traditional standards tempered radical theories and old habits modified innovations. Within ten years measurable progress has been made in fitting the schools to the demands of the young republic, which feels the importance of bulwarking its democratic institutions behind a definite program of education for citizenship in a changed nation and a changing world.

Reorganization of the German government called for radical reorganization of the school system. There had never been a German school system in the national sense. Previous to the war there were twenty-six federal states in the German Empire, each of which had its own school system and laws, just as is the case in the forty-eight states of the United States. Every German state had a double school system with elementary and secondary departments running parallel.[1] That is, some pupils from six or nine years of age until eighteen were in secondary schools. Others less fortunate were in elementary schools from the age of six to fourteen and then they passed on to the continuation schools. A few states had a triple school system with middle schools as a longitudinal section between the elementary and secondary schools. Such an educational structure perpetuated caste divisions under the empire and, if continued under the republic, would have defeated any attempt to establish a real democracy. The ideals of republican government demanded a new distribution of educational advantages and a reorganization of the national school system. After the revolution and the Weimar constitutional convention, the necessary changes were speedily made and adaptation to them continues steadily.

The principle of the common public school, *Einheitsschule*, has been developed in Germany, not in the sense that it is in America where the pupil passes vertically from one type of school to another, but as a total school system with unity existing among its parts, transfer for the pupil being possible both vertically and horizontally. The present organization of the German schools has sup-

[1] See appendix.

planted the three distinct systems with a common school, which has thus far brought unification in a limited sense. All school types together now comprise an organic unity with transfer from one part to another made relatively easy. At the base of the whole national system there is the *Grundschule*, or Foundation School, which every German child must attend for four years. The *Grundschule* is the first four years of the eight-year elementary school. Thus equal educational opportunities and democratic contacts are assured to all during at least the first four years of the elementary school. Every other type of school builds upon this foundation. At the close of this period, when a child is ten years of age, parents, teachers and pupils must decide more or less definitely on the route to be followed in further educational work.

The only non-tuition school available to the child is the four upper grades of the *Volksschule*. In rare cases, the elementary school has a two-year extension, *Oberbau*, which holds elementary school pupils until the close of their sixteenth year. The ordinary *Volksschule* is an eight-year elementary school, where boys and girls from six to ten in the foundation grades and from ten to fourteen in the upper grades do about the same work as in an elementary school in the United States. All pupils who do not enter either a middle or secondary school after finishing the *Volksschule* are now required to attend a vocational school for four years, or until they reach eighteen years of age.

The middle and secondary schools continue to require small tuition fees, ten and fifty dollars respectively for each year, but a liberal system of scholarships has been provided, so that poorer children are not debarred from the privileges of higher education. The mere possession of the tuition fee will not secure a pupil admission to either of these schools. Every applicant must also give evidence of ability and intelligence somewhat above the average. A special examination is used to select entrants to the secondary schools.

The middle school has now become a six-year school, since it is built on the foundation school, receives pupils at the age of ten and graduates them at sixteen. Internally this type of school has not changed in any distinctive way since the war. Possibly it had less need for change because it was of fairly recent origin and rather well adjusted to the needs of the lower middle class. It has become a little more flexible in its organization. The curricula and classroom

practices give evidence of the same progressive tendencies that have affected all German schools. Pupils may now transfer from the middle school to the secondary school by taking an examination at the end of the six-year course. They may also transfer to a secondary school, known as the *Aufbauschule,* after three years in the middle school, provided they stand high in their classes and are able to pass the entrance examination.

The secondary schools have become nine-year schools instead of potential twelve-year schools, as their preparatory departments have been supplanted by the compulsory *Grundschule.* In addition to the three main types which existed previously there are three more secondary school types which are new either in curriculum or organization. These are the *Deutsche Oberschule* and the *Aufbauschule* which have been established to offer modified forms of secondary education to boys and girls, and the *Frauenschule,* a school not yet fully accredited, which is concerned with the problems of women.

Now a boy in the secondary school may defer final decision on specialization in his course and on the resultant choice of a career until he is twelve or thirteen, because there is less differentiation of curricula on the lower levels and more opportunity for transfer from one type of school to another. Formerly choice was made as early as nine or ten, and inevitably that left the real decision to the parents. Girls' schools are still patterned closely after schools for boys, but the appearance of new types and the internal reorganization of the old types point toward better educational opportunities for girls.

Coeducation has been tried in a few of the new secondary schools but there is little probability that it will be adopted generally. German secondary school teachers are firmly convinced that adolescent boys and girls work better apart and that the differing needs, tastes and abilities of the sexes make advisable different content for courses and treatment of subject matter. They feel that these provisions can best be made when boys and girls work in separate schools.

Continuation schools with vocational courses have been well developed in Germany for years, but their importance is increased since the legal age for leaving school has been raised to eighteen. Upper class housewives, who at first resisted a law that forced them to give young servant girls and nursemaids six to eight hours of free time for school attendance each week, are discovering that there

are advantages in having better trained household workers. The continuation school for girls is one important avenue of training for kindergarten, home economics, playground and social welfare.

The training of teachers, even for the elementary schools, is being put upon a university basis. All normal schools have been superseded by teachers' colleges or pedagogical institutes attached to the universities. This move aims to secure fuller equality in preparation, salary and social position within the profession whether teachers deal with young children or with older pupils. The secondary teachers remain a favored group in these respects but the distinction is not so sharp as it once was when caste seemed very important to Germans.

Adult education has gone forward with leaps and bounds since the revolution. There were, of course, some tendencies along this line before, but since 1918 there have sprung up a great number of institutions which compose an educational system for adults that is practically free. During the war much impetus was given this movement by attention to similar types of schools in Denmark, Sweden and England. There was dire need of re-educating adults along political, religious and economic lines, to say nothing of health and current social problems. People's universities or Folk Colleges have been organized by churches, political parties, city governments and states. Practically all state ministries of education have furthered the establishment of people's universities, public libraries and other forms of adult education. In many large cities there are now found people's universities offering to all adults a wide choice of courses and programs of study. It may have been that these people's universities were first intended for working classes but the movement has gone far beyond that point now. The Prussian ministry particularly takes the point of view that the folk high school is of vast importance for all classes of society. These schools are both boarding and evening schools. The former ordinarily represents some particular religious or political group and is attended chiefly by young men and women between eighteen and twenty-five years of age.

The state universities and technical institutes of university standard have changed little since the war. They are essentially conservative and tend to resist school reforms. Higher institutions begin to show a more polyglot enrollment as individuals from the lower and

middle classes become numerous. Teachers in training for the elementary schools now attend some university lectures, although their professional courses are usually given in a separate department and they do not enter fully into student life at the universities. There is an increasing proportion of women students. Occasionally a university professor shows that he has been affected by discussions of the "activity method" when he ceases to read or lecture to his class and attempts to draw them into discussion. But formal lectures are still the rule since the seminar offers opportunity for students to present the results of their study and to participate in arguments. Academic freedom could scarcely be greater than it is in the German universities and it may be just as well that these institutions remain essentially unchanged, so far as their own work is concerned. Their direct service to the national school reform is, however, of slight importance except as outstanding professors here and there have thrown their influence toward reconstruction in education.

The casual American visitor to new German schools may be disappointed over the amount of progress apparent after a decade of animated discussion of school reforms in the republic. Perhaps he has been led to expect a miraculous transformation because the more radical German educators write of their experiments with enthusiasm that sometimes mistakes the wish for the deed. The American observer is not disposed to examine the theory before the facts. He wants to see *what* reforms are actually carried out in school practice before he inquires *why* they were adopted.

Frequently he is in search of new devices that may be introduced into American schools. That is a short-sighted quest for every school must be indigenous to the soil from which it springs if it is to serve the real needs of a nation or town. Transplantation of educational institutions or methods is seldom successfully made without extensive modifications of the original plan. The sound procedure in educational reform is to allow native institutions and practices to evolve by giving support to enlightened minorities already informed about local needs, eager for action and aware of progressive tendencies in other places.

The American educator in Germany does see many traces of the celebrated school reform, but these high lights are so hung about with fragments of tradition that their progressive intent is not easily discoverable. The very sight of obsolete school furniture and equip-

ment is enough to convince many material-minded American teachers that a classroom so furnished cannot produce work infused with the modern spirit of activity. They are so accustomed to associate the last word in school furnishings with the latest fad in method that they often fail to realize that up-to-date equipment may be a frame without a picture, while many a masterpiece of teaching exists without the setting of modern school furniture.

The observer must remember certain differences between German and American schools. The hold of tradition is much weaker in the United States and our social institutions are younger, although our republic is the older. American public schools started with an advantage because they were built to fit a democracy instead of being re-formed out of the schools of an empire. Our educational system presents many anomalies but its main trunk and branches have grown straight up from the roots of a democratic government. Germany, on the other hand, has to overcome the organization and traditions of caste schools as its first step toward the development of an educational system which fits the purpose set forth in her new constitution. She must find some way of relaxing the hold of the church on the school—a problem that has never seriously confronted public education in America, because the separation of church and state here has always meant the independence of secular schools and their freedom from religious controversies.

It is needless to point out the difference in the present economic status of Germany and the United States and the resultant inequality in expenditures for education. Between 1914 and 1923 scarcely a school building was erected in all of Germany, and existing schoolhouses deteriorated seriously as did school equipment. The lower birth rate and the temporary increase in child mortality so reduced the elementary school population that the problem of providing school buildings did not become serious on that level, but over-crowding did confront secondary schools with their increased enrollments.

The school reformers began their work on starvation rations. Because they could expect little help from a bankrupt nation and impoverished cities they sought private support for their new educational enterprises, and the achievements of many schools rest on the sacrifices of parents and teachers, who were determined to recompense children for the shadow war had cast on their innocent lives.

The slowness with which certain reform tendencies have penetrated general practice in Germany is disappointing to American teachers who are accustomed to see educational movements sweep over the States like wildfire. Our teachers often take up the phrases and form of a new fad before they have grasped its meaning or the principles governing its methods. Most German educators work in the opposite direction. They mull over the philosophy behind any suggested change. Sometimes they get no further, particularly if they are older teachers fixed in their classroom habits and unequal to fresh effort.

Adoption of new modes of schoolroom procedure is voluntary. That in itself is a drastic departure from the Prussian system of exact regulation of details. Permissive legislation allows individuals and groups who wish to try out new school procedures, to do so; but it does not compel "progress," nor hinder conservative and inert teachers from continuing to use about the same methods they have applied in their classes for years.

Such variability and indifference is disconcerting to the American who looks for universal adoption of a program that appears to have merits. He does find an informal kind of publicity campaign for school reform being carried on through professional journals and the enormous output of German books on education. But there is no dominating teachers' college acting as arbiter in educational fashions and there is no supervisory machinery to galvanize the average teacher into energetic imitation of popular methods.

School supervision in Germany concerns itself chiefly with administrative detail and exercises relatively little guidance over schoolroom instruction. The teacher's training is regarded as practically complete when he is appointed to a permanent post. By that time he is a mature individual with considerable professional experience. His schoolroom is his castle and the procedure he follows in instruction is his own affair. Professional interest may lead him to study educational theory and to experiment with new methods, but he is under no compulsion to modify his work at the suggestion of supervisors. The latter visit classes at infrequent intervals as a matter of form and seldom with the intention of making specific recommendations to the teacher in charge.

The new regulations safeguard the independence of the teacher, making him even more of a law unto himself than ever before, be-

cause they have dethroned the principal and given the faculty fuller control of the school. Teachers voluntarily form groups which work to raise the level of practice in their own school or system. They organize study clubs to discuss theories and exchange experiences in order that each may direct his own class more effectively. It is mainly the teacher's choice of direction, his selection of method and his own application of standards that guide his work.

This means that the full development of the German school reform must wait for a new generation of teachers. Perhaps the delay will be even longer, for the spirit demanded of the new teacher in Germany's reformed schools cannot be acquired through professional training alone. It must be nurtured from infancy in an atmosphere of freedom and trained throughout youth according to the social ideals of democracy.

To appreciate the extent of ten years' changes in the German schools the observer from the new world must look below the surface and get a clear picture of the conditions prevalent twenty or thirty years ago. He must measure the present stage of progress from that pre-war level. Then the serious student of education and sociology should go much further back into the history of the country if he would gain understanding of the forces which have produced the present changes in social institutions.

In the wake of the war have come many interesting developments in Germany's governmental, industrial and social policies. In none of these fields is the conflict between the old order and the new more striking than in the field of education. School reforms have great significance for the future of the nation's development. Usually it is society that shapes the schools to its pattern and education tends to lag behind the spirit of the times. In Germany's case the schools are trying to make society conform to their ideals of what it should be, and they are working with conscious purpose and objective means to create educational institutions that honor personality, nationalism and humanity according to their worth in a modern democracy.

PART ONE

Phenomena of the New Education

CHAPTER I

Revolution Touches the Schools

"The school is in a continuous state of revolution. That is merely a proof of its vital force."—LICHTWARK

"THE old German school was dull gray. My own experience with schools in Germany began just twenty years ago. My impression of the drabness of the old elementary school was not gained from reading books about it, or from hearsay, or from war propaganda, but it came from innumerable hours spent in the classrooms and with the teachers. These lines are written after many years—years of world-wide change—and still the grayness of the old school remains impressed on my memory.

"At intervals during the years from 1908 to 1913, I journeyed from place to place in Germany, following no set program of visitation, but taking the schools as they came. I wandered through the villages of the Black Forest and the Thuringian hills. I traveled in the Harz Mountains, along the Rhine and through the Ruhr district. I stopped in all the great cities of the old empire. Traveling afoot through Pomerania, Prussia, Posen and Silesia, I visited many rural schools.

"Everywhere I found the same conditions in the elementary schools. The rooms were gray, dull and monotonous. The walls were adorned with pictures of the Kaiser, his grandfather and Pestalozzi. There were innumerable busts of the great Swiss teacher and of monarchs, but there was little other decoration. Always the impression was of cheerlessness and lack of color, life or happiness. Row upon row of long, straight-backed benches filled dreary classrooms. Children sprang stiffly to attention when a visitor, the principal or an inspector entered. Occasionally they jumped up by mistake when the janitor appeared at the door. They rose automatically once more when the visitor left, not so much as an expression of courtesy but rather in blind conformity to the command of the teacher and the law of custom. The sharp, strained, high-pitched voices of the

pupils were always shouting out the answers to questions or reciting memorized lessons. The formal, serious autocrat of a teacher seemed profoundly conscious of his responsibility to the nation and king. German teachers and children were all in a groove moving relentlessly forward toward a fate to which they had been born."

Such were the impressions one of the present writers carried away from the elementary schools of the old German Empire. To-day much is changed. Defeat in the World War, the downfall of the empire and the rise of a republic released forces that had been preparing a revolution in German education for many years. The old institutions—government, church, family and school—had to face the challenge of a new social order.

In education, the revolt was signaled by slogans like these: "Tear down the schools; build houses of childhood." "School prisons no longer but communities of youth." "Happiness is everything." "Begin with the child. Let education come from his joy in life and his love of activity." These were the battle cries of the German Community Schools, those most revolutionary of Europe's new schools. Few in numbers but strong in purpose, they worked startling changes overnight in a dozen centers, as their school buildings and school procedure underwent a thorough transformation. Drab walls were painted with brilliant hues of green and orange, blue and red, in gay, fantastic patterns to symbolize the abundance of beauty and light that was to pour into the dark corners of classrooms and make life in the new schools a rich, joyous experience.

Official regulations were discarded as the authoritative school principal disappeared and in his place, groups of pupils, teachers and parents formed school communities, where they could work and play and live together in mutual enjoyment of their new freedom and in common labor for fuller realization of their social ideals. District boundaries were ignored and the Community Schools drew parents and children from all over the city. Only those came who wished to ally themselves with the new schools. All were welcomed just as they presented themselves at the open doors. Class divisions were broken up when pupils of various ages found the teacher who seemed best to satisfy their need for comradeship, and each teacher gathered about him a group of individuals who inwardly felt themselves drawn into an association that might last for years, but which they were free to leave at any time. Sex differences were forgotten

while boys and girls joined the same groups and shared interests and activities, losing any sense of strangeness or inequality. Religious prejudices were lessened as these schools put spiritual education on a plane which had nothing to do with sectarian beliefs, but concerned itself wholly with the finest development of character in the individual and with his sense of oneness with the social group and the world of nature. Humanitarianism was the core of religious teaching in these secularized schools and they gave no support to creeds or doctrinal instruction.

Time schedules were torn down, as school groups refused to let the hands of the clock dictate any longer their periods for study and recreation, for beginning and ceasing the process of education. Prescribed curricula vanished when teachers revealed to their pupils life outside the school and let the spontaneous energy and curiosity of the children explore the real world and find outlets in questions, projects and creative expression. Subject lines were blotted out by the new meaning given to education—no longer a neat set of parcelled learnings, exactly measured and arranged in consecutive order, but an ever-widening experience which demanded tools and food on all sides, but which was too powerful and dynamic a force to be enslaved by external aids to growth.

The crowded schoolroom and walled courtyard were too narrow to contain this expanding eagerness for contacts with life. School books did not suffice, for their dusty covers concealed only the meager dullness of the material within. Teachers felt themselves incompetent to furnish the information eagerly sought and to guide the hands that reached after fresh power and skill. For even the teachers in radical schools belonged to the old régime and had been trained merely to impart specified sections of traditional learning by prescribed rules and to drill the young for their destiny as loyal subjects of the emperor.

But the old order had disappeared and the new idol of the nation was democracy, its problem the education of youth for intelligent and responsible citizenship. The schools had to face the task of laying a foundation that would restore the Fatherland to its ancient place among nations. If the German people were to rule their own country it was necessary that the children learn to rule themselves in their own schools. Teachers as dictators stepped aside and let youth find its own way toward self-government and social control.

Discussion of plans and behavior became an accepted part of each school day. The pupils felt themselves actual participants in the business of education and, as they became conscious of the political and economic problems of their elders, they began to see the relation of their school life to the new government.

Seeking greener fields of knowledge, school groups began to go out into the parks and environs of their cities. They observed community life with awakened senses as they wandered here and there to study the local institutions and the occupations of the people in city, town and countryside. Familiar landmarks and historical shrines took on greater meaning when classes visited them with their teachers, sketched the characteristic features, and talked or reflected on the past. Not only was knowledge of the native country increased but love for its beauties and traditions was deepened.

Once outside school bounds, the innate wanderlust of youth and the nomadic instincts of pagan ancestors lured these groups to longer and longer journeys. In the beginning an hour or two of exploration in the neighborhood would suffice. Then, with knapsacks on their backs, pupils and teachers were off for a whole day in nearby villages or forests. Soon it came about that nightfall would find a class far from home, seeking shelter with a good-natured farmer, taking lodgings at a quiet inn, or putting up at one of the hostels for youth, which had spread like a network over the land to accommodate just such wandering bands of young people.

Already the Community Schools had begun to wonder how to secure homes of their own in the country, places to which classes might continually go, not only for festivals and short trips, but to stay a week or two at a time during the regular school sessions. The physical regeneration of childhood had become a problem of foremost concern to the nation. All these children of the war period had paid in lowered vitality for the privations of those dark days when food blockades and harvest failures added to the growing shortage of life's necessities. Now in the sun and air of pine forests and open highways, the school children won back a part of the vigor that strain and hardship had snatched from their natural endowment of health. As teachers and parents saw this gain they determined to make even better provision for pupils to grow physically and mentally outside the school.

Again the school community gathered its citizens, young and old,

to work together on a second school home—this time far from the grime and noise of the city. Together they saved money, gathered furnishings, rebuilt and painted a shack or some abandoned barracks, until they saw their dream of a home in the country realized—a house that could shelter a class of forty or fifty children with their teacher and a mother or two. School classes took turns keeping house for a fortnight in a rural community under conditions novel and interesting to children from the proletarian quarter of industrial cities.

The experience was doubly educational since the class teacher lived in the country with his own pupils, shared their discoveries and discussions, added his store of knowledge to their direct observations, and continued to use the stimulation and results of those days in the country for the enrichment of instruction long after the class had returned to the city school. Lessons were sometimes held there, but, for the most part, regular instruction gave way to play on the heath or in the woods, to games, story-telling and impromptu dramatics indoors in bad weather, and to the regular routine of household tasks and rest periods, which kept the children occupied through days that seemed all too short.

Such has been the development of the most radical of European new schools, the *Gemeinschaftsschulen*, or Community Schools. Born of the Revolution, these schools placed social education above every other goal and formed the vanguard for other reform forces which have swept through all German schools in the past ten years. However, national reorganization of education does not proceed from radical experiments alone, any more than the first wavelets of the incoming tide furnish the power which draws the ocean waters after them. Those first ripples are only the signs which presage the rush of masses of water stirred to their depths and moved forward by an irresistible force. The early radical schools in Germany showed the trend that the national reform would follow in more conservative fashion. As experiments they served their purpose in the years immediately following the war. Some of them have disappeared or modified their extreme practices until they are now almost indistinguishable from many of the regular schools which have gradually adopted certain progressive features.

The mass of schools was moving steadily but more quietly in the same direction as the experimental schools after the Revolution.

All Germany had turned toward new objectives in education. Humanity, personality and sound nationality became the leading aims of the reformed school system. Social liberalism was behind the humanitarian aim. Individual liberty was the foundation for the development of personality and character. Nationalism had to rely for a time only upon the hope of attaining these two general purposes—broad humanitarianism and freed individuality, for the new Germanism was an ideal still in the making. Prussianism had become an outworn tradition and the national spirit that succeeded it was trying to keep love of country alive, but not to blind Germans to their faults nor to conceal the merits of other countries. The program of the new school placed moderate emphasis upon knowledge of the homeland and cultivation of national culture in the hope that the rising generation would produce German citizens firmly rooted in native virtues and pride, but tolerant enough to recognize the worth and strength of their neighbors. Among educational leaders the conviction was strong that a man must first be a good citizen of his own country before he could become a good citizen of the world with real understanding of international problems.

Re-orientation of national purposes around the democratic ideal and its corollary, universal tolerance, was stirring Germany profoundly, but in the chaos of post-war days there were many cross currents which led to confused action and contradictory policies. The center of the union of German states, still less than fifty years old, had been shaken. Prussian imperialism had failed and no other existing power was strong enough to restore unity to a nation that had never felt inwardly united. The provinces were temporarily self-sufficient of necessity and their semi-autonomous condition had its counterpart in the independence of separate institutions. The centralized systems in control of education were suddenly relaxed.

School reform in Germany was, for a time, not so much a matter of reorganization growing out of a comprehensive national policy, as it was the result of experiments in single schools and classes throughout the land. To be sure all were actuated by similar motives and all had been affected by revolutionary tendencies in education which had shown their trend long before the outbreak of the war. For years educational philosophers had preached the doctrines of the "activity school" and "education for democratic citizen-

ship." Outside the Junker group and the Prussian imperialists, there were many thinking people to whom it was a foregone conclusion before the war and revolution that Germany must eventually follow the rest of the Western World in assuming a more popular form of government, which would lay upon the schools the problem of educating individuals for democracy instead of training a mass of obedient subjects for the emperor.

Furthermore, the shock of defeat brought home to the German people and their officials a serious weakness in their previous educational procedure. On the field of battle they came to respect the qualities of independence and initiative of their opponents. They decided that their own policy of training the masses for obedience and efficiency and of educating the selected few for leadership and scholarly thoroughness had caused them to neglect other indispensable human traits that also were profitable if well developed.

There has been some waste of effort in the German method of reforming education through revolution, but only a few schools have been directly affected by extreme practices. The vast majority have gone their way with such innovations and modifications as seemed to fit the mores of their communities and for which the teachers were prepared. They have moved more as small groups or individual institutions than as a national system and that has been a consequence of circumstances as much as the conscious intent of the school officials. The latter have felt considerable anxiety lest the old standards of scholarly achievement and professional skill should be lost in this haphazard development of new procedures.

Now that Germany has returned to her place in the political and economic worlds, she is not going to jeopardize her regained position by permitting any weakness to creep into the educational machinery. Up to the present it may have been advantageous to permit a degree of differentiation and experiment. How much of that it is desirable to continue the educational authorities do not know as yet. But a nation that has been on the margin of existence cannot be too prodigal of ways and means for cultivating human resources. Having lost her colonies and having the reparations payments before her, Germany is in a situation where every human unit must count to the fullest degree in restoring national stability. If that can best be accomplished through sports and art work in the schools, then let them remain. If the purpose is well served by modernized

curricula and more active instructional methods, then let them be introduced more widely.

Practical and philosophical judges seem to agree that the German schools have found a better way of educating the children and youth of the country, but there remains the problem of re-educating teachers for a changed profession. That will take a generation. Even with the reform of professional training under way, for some time yet the teachers will be drawn from the old types of elementary and secondary schools and more or less stamped with the habits of their early education. The normal schools were closed soon after the Revolution and pedagogical institutes were established in connection with the universities, so that teachers destined for the elementary and secondary schools should no longer live in two different worlds, but should meet on common ground for at least a part of their training period and work together on the problems of a united profession. Practices in the schools have already made great advances, but again and again there appears the contradictory situation where old methods and materials are being used to work out new principles that actually require other measures. This transition period will be passed over just as rapidly as the new procedures can be worked out and the teachers re-educated. Through professional study clubs, and a flood of pedagogical literature the reconstruction of practice is being hastened.

Germany has been slow in crystallizing her school reforms, but they may be all the more satisfactory in the end, because application of the newly recognized principles was not hurried. At first the underlying philosophy was pure theory, then it became the basis for changes in method. Religion and politics continue to be the two great controversial issues. The fact that the universities, even though they remain outwardly conservative, are inwardly permeated with the reform spirit may eventually count heavily in favor of educational progress. Many of the more active reformers are moderates who are equally determined to hold fast to what was good in the old system while they are seeking the richer life values in the new ideals. Germany's school revolution has been a struggle between advocates of the most extreme freedom in education and defenders of traditions of orderliness and scholarship. After ten years of argument the radicals acknowledge the wisdom of moderation in school

reforms and the conservatives recognize the advantage of many progressive school measures. If actual schoolroom practice in Germany makes as much advance in the next decade as their educational theory made in the years just before the war, the German school revolution will have given a distinguished contribution to the educational world.

CHAPTER II

The Youth Movement

"A moral rejuvenescence of the German people, the return of the German soul to its best traditions."—FÖRSTER

FLAMES leap toward the midnight sky, while dark shadows shoot their jagged tongues across the low, sandy hills and against the silent pines, which tower sentinel-like about a group of young men and women. Around the glowing fire they stand, this band of youthful moderns, solemnly celebrating the summer solstice, reliving an ancient custom of their ancestors, observing rites neglected in the age of materialism, but now revived in the eager effort of their race to win back its old beliefs and to find itself anew in time-honored traditions.

The evening hours have been spent near the Hostel for Youth on *Preblow See,* a beautiful lake in the old Mark. The northern Mark is a low, flat, sandy country sprinkled with hundreds of lakes and inhabited to this day by descendants of the Wends, a blue-eyed, black-haired Slavic race, still unconquered in spirit though long dominated by the Germans. These independent northern people have resisted assimilation and dwell as of yore in the seclusion of their country of sand, pines and water. To this region have come a group of twenty boys and girls from north Berlin, children of the proletariat, who are passing a day or two at the hostel. Tramping, hiking and singing together, they are seeking relief and recreation after the long year in the factory and store, for they are not schoolboys and girls, but wage earners in an era when life is precarious and a bare existence hard to win. All evening we watch beside their fire and help them gather wood as they celebrate *Johannistag,* an ancient festival to mark the turning of the sun in its course. We are watchers from the New World, where no one thinks of such strange things as the rekindling of ancestral fires.

At midnight the group assembled about the roaring flames is singing songs centuries old, and dancing steps known to Germans

long since departed. The watchers from the Western World look on in wonder. Boys and girls of the working classes at home do not assemble in the forest at dead of night to dance in the light of log fires and sing folk songs. Perhaps this is only a jest or a parody upon some ancient custom.

The fire has consumed the timbers and branches until the flames are not more than three feet high. The group now stands quietly watching the slowly dying embers. Not a word is spoken. Then a youth of twenty years approaches the fire and pauses. He lifts his face toward the sky of light and shadow. There is no jest, no merriment in his features. A girl comes forward and takes his hand. The boy is searching for a fitting phrase. At last he repeats the lines of a poem, an ancient prayer or proverb. The girl likewise utters the words that express her feelings at this hour—the hour of rebirth and dedication. Suddenly the two run toward the fire and leap through its flames—the ancient act of purification. One pair after another performs this simple ceremony. Finally the flames flicker out and only the glowing embers remain. The sacred hour is past.

This strange scene is enacted every midsummer night upon hundreds of hills in Germany by the youths of a modern nation rededicating themselves to folk ideals in an old religious ceremony. We watchers from the New World grow thoughtful. Our young people do not steal into the woods at midnight to renew idealistic vows and perform the pagan rites of long-forgotten ancestors.

Traditional festivals, such as this, have always been dear to those Germans who believe that a race must remain true to the spirit of its forebears and close to the native soil if the people are to survive and fulfill their destiny as a folk. The ceremony of the *Sonnenwendefeier* perhaps suggested to early leaders in the Youth Movement one way of purifying a nation that had sought false goals and defeated itself internally even before it had met defeat at the hands of its enemies.

The pinnacle of the Youth Movement was reached on that night in October of 1913 when more than a thousand young men and women gathered on a mountain top near Cassel and lighted their fires as beacons to show that a turning point had come in the affairs of the German nation. This act was their answer to a summons calling the young men of Germany together for a patriotic celebration of the battle of Leipzig. A union of organizations, sprung from

the same roots as the romantic bands of *Wandervögel* and calling themselves Free Germans, expressed their contempt for trumped-up, official patriotism by refusing to take part in the military celebration. With high faith in their own ideals of fraternity and nationalism they sent forth a counter-summons to the youth of the land to unite with them in a protest meeting. From all over the country young people rallied to the banner of the Free Germans. In the midst of their native hills and forests they gathered by the hundreds to talk and sing around great fires that seemed to scatter the message of freedom to every corner of a land that had sometimes forgotten the meaning of personal and political liberty during forty years of Prussian rule. From this meeting on *Hohe Meissner* came the words that crystallize the aim of the Youth Movement—"to shape our lives with inner sincerity by our own decisions and on our own responsibility."

This was not the first time in the history of Germany that youth had stepped forward to claim its rights and to take an active part in the regeneration of the country. In 1810 one of Fichte's "Addresses to the German Nation" dealt particularly with the rôle that young people could play in helping their country to recover from the devastation of the Napoleonic wars. The devoted service to high national ideals which young people of that time displayed presents a close parallel to the German Youth Movement of the twentieth century.

Before and after the disturbances of 1848, young men sympathizing with the Socialists took a conspicuous part in movements concerned with workers' rights and the freedom of the common man. The founding of the *Burschenschaften* carried into university circles the growing group consciousness of young people. The organization of labor unions had the same effect on industrial centers and gradually brought the struggle of the young workmen into the field of politics. By 1885 many European countries, including Germany, had been touched by the revolt of youth against military service, poor working conditions and lack of educational opportunities. The hand of the German government was strong enough to keep the insurrectionists under outward control. Some of them emigrated. But enough remained to keep the ferment of anarchism and socialism at work inside the army and in labor organizations.

Toward the opening of the twentieth century unrest among the

young workers was increased because of a new stream of social and recreational activities that began to occupy their attention to some extent and which was of particular interest to young people of the middle class. Outdoor life and sports began to call to them to come out of the schoolroom, the factory and the city, in order that they might enjoy the short years of their youth in the sunlight and air, among the beauties of nature and in pastimes that had delighted youth through all ages. Romanticism made its appeal through the poets and novelists of the nineteenth century who wakened ready response in the soul of youth as they glorified nature and folkways. The adolescent turns inevitably to the solitudes of the wilderness and the dreams of poets as if to seek space for the expanding physical and spiritual forces of his being.

Churches and clubworkers began to use this spontaneous love of youth for the out of doors as they formed organizations like the Pathfinders (Boy Scouts) and the Young Men's Christian Association. The former was military enough in its outward aspect to meet with the approval of officials who carefully scrutinized all clubs for juveniles. The latter had the support of many churchmen and made a strong appeal to educators, who welcomed any association which placed equal emphasis on the development of body, mind and soul. The German schools had long been criticized for stressing intellectual training to the exclusion of the other two members of this triad.

Both these organizations, the Pathfinders and the Y.M.C.A., made their appeal chiefly to youths of the middle class and scarcely touched the mass of young workers. Furthermore, both societies were organized by adults for the purpose of leading youth in a direction that their elders thought desirable. However beneficent the purpose of the originators and however considerate they were of the claim young people made for a share in deciding matters affecting themselves, in the final analysis both associations were patterned on adult societies and guided by councils of elders. This did not satisfy those dreamers in the Youth Movement who had a vision of the time when youth would set up its own standards of freedom and find its own forms of group association for promoting the common interests that young people feel are important to them in every era and in every land. In the philosophy of these young reformers what youth makes of itself is of more permanent value than what

adults try to make of youth even if the latter aim is ever so commendable.

The first groups to give outward expression to the real spirit of the Youth Movement were the *Wandervögel*, whose name and customs are traced back to a group of lads who tramped through the country around Berlin as long ago as 1899 under the enthusiastic leadership of Karl Fischer.

They are described as follows in Brossmer's *Wanderheime der Jugend*:

"Steglitz is a suburb of Berlin which lies a little apart from the noise and rush of the metropolis but whose inhabitants still live their life according to city customs. They come home from their amusements late at night and sleep far into the bright daylight, especially on Sundays. One must have lived among these people as a nature-hungry child of the sunny South in order to understand how one can fight in vain against their deeply rooted ideas and habits. To be sure, even in this suburb of a northern city, there are people who enjoy the out of doors and the dreamy, melancholy landscape around the Havel lakes. But none of them ever go out at dawn when the cock crows to see the sun rise over the hills.

"But in this same Steglitz it did happen in the summer of 1899 that old indoor habits and fixed city customs were overthrown by a little group of high school lads. What did these rough fellows do? They left home at an hour when only late revelers and bakers' boys disturbed the quiet of the streets, and they were outside the city gates before the gray dawn broke. Even worse, they clad themselves in short trousers and gay kerchiefs.

"Many members of the group had to face heated arguments at home, for their parents spoke out uncompromisingly against such 'foolishness.' But it was always beautiful in the tall pine forests, in a neighboring castle or on the lake with its islands and inlets, where they could talk comfortably about everything which came into their heads. Their return to Steglitz usually occurred as the Sunday parade there was at its height. The ruddy faces and dusty shoes of the hikers attracted attention. It might have been easy to forgive the boys for their eccentricity, but not their leader. He was grown up and a university student from whom more decorous behavior was expected. Gradually he came to be called 'that crazy Fischer.' "

Such was the slight beginning of the movement that has grown until the Birds of Passage are known for their wanderings over half a dozen countries. To realize the magnitude of the break which these boys made with local custom thirty years ago, one has only to contrast their appearance with the picture of respectability which a certain type of German family presents when they go out for a Sunday afternoon walk. Every shoe is polished to the same brilliance as the father's silk hat. Every garment is immaculate and faultlessly pressed. Every countenance decorously reflects proper thoughts and orderly behavior. To such people deviation from the usual path is alarming and culpable. And so it was that the solid burghers of Steglitz regarded the first band of *Wandervögel* with distrust.

Their apprehensions were better founded than they themselves realized. For in the apparently harmless hunger of these boys for free fellowship and natural beauty there lay the germ of a movement which was to grow until Youth became a self-conscious force and a power that the national government had to reckon with.

The Birds of Passage had one essential quality that distinguished them from other juvenile organizations. The latter were usually formed by well-meaning adults with a somewhat condescending interest in the "uplift" or welfare of youth according to adult notions. But the *Wandervögel* grew out of the inclinations of youth itself. The spirit of adventure and romance, of courage and independence, was the law of their spontaneous organization. Their power lay in their common will and unity of interest. Their strength sprang from a positive force—their hearty affirmation of life. They refused to be bound by trivial conventions which shut away the universal realities. They declined to accept the explanations and standards of the older generation. They demanded the right of "finding out for themselves." They were willing to fight, to be scorned and to suffer if by so doing they might cut through the dull barriers which shut them away from those things representing to their youthful spirits the good, the beautiful and the true.

All this was not evident in the beginning. For four years the little band of vagabonds was ridiculed by Steglitz but they were not feared. Then the "pillars of society" in that suburb began to see a menace in the freethinking of these boys. Perhaps some young rebels had attacked the fortress of parental authority and school

discipline too recklessly in their long discussions out in the forest. Possibly a few lads had voiced their radical opinions hotly to unsympathetic listeners. At any rate the Prussian restriction against independent juvenile organizations became such a threat that Karl Fischer had to fight for the existence of his little groups of free spirits. Believing their ideals were deeply enough rooted to flourish in spite of outward compromise he diplomatically accepted a subterfuge which had the sanction of custom. He succeeded in forming an association of adults—parents, teachers and patrons, who constituted the responsible membership of the organization. Pupils were not allowed to become active members and thus the school rule against juvenile clubs was upheld, while the bands of youths, outwardly unorganized but inwardly united by common purposes, went on with their discussions and long tramps, singing as gayly as ever upon the road.

Fischer's device for protecting the *Wandervögel* without incurring official censure was useful to other groups as enthusiasm for the Youth Movement spread. Before long there were Birds of Passage flocking through the forest lanes and mountain paths all over Germany. Some of them wandered on into Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria and even to remoter lands.

They began to take a definite position on moral questions of the day. Almost universally they opposed the use of alcoholic drinks. Many bands were equally strict in their opposition to tobacco but some condoned smoking by older members. They were divided over the problem of mixed groups when boys and girls undertook long trips together. While certain bands disapproved of this practice, others supported it with the proviso that there should be an especially responsible leader for such occasions. One of the most serious questions was broached when it became apparent that a movement begun among secondary school pupils, groups from the upper social strata, was rapidly extending to elementary school pupils and young working people. The vast majority of the *Wandervögel* were determined that their ideals and activities should not be monopolized by a single social class but should include all levels, uniting the youth of the nation in common pleasures and purposes which were above caste.

As many separate bands had been formed and as discussion over different points of view went on, there was a constant stimulus to

the clarification of principles through the writing of articles on various issues. The value of these writings has been greatly enhanced by the fact that the *Wandervögel* philosophy is not a superficial modern development like some cults to which people turn in a period of social chaos, but it has its real source in the ancient springs of German culture, for its leaders went back to find in Teutonic tribal traits, in peasant customs, in the life of medieval burghers and in the classic period of German music, literature and philosophy, that secure foundation for a new society which would fit the needs of a modern world and yet be indigenous to the soil from which it sprang.

No better illustration of this fundamental tenet, *Bodenständigkeit*, fidelity to native soil, in the code of the *Wandervögel*, can be found than that shown by the character of their "nests" or clubhouses. It was not long before the groups found one-day trips inadequate. As their desire grew for longer excursions and several days' stay in the country they were eager to acquire huts or camps that would shelter them and where they would feel more free and at home than in the rural inns. In a short time there were dozens of nests, either owned or leased by the *Wandervögel*, and it is partly due to their initiative in these matters that Germany now has such an extensive system of Hostels for Youth.

Brossmer points out that "the outstanding mark of the nests chosen by the Birds of Passage is their harmony with the landscape. Nowhere have the *Wandervögel* destroyed the beauty of a spot by an ugly house built merely for shelter, but they have always sought homes which grew out of their settings and which have played their part in local history. Whether they choose a former cloister that recalls an earlier period and significant currents of thought in its traditions and architecture, or a lowly farmhouse in the midst of its stables and fields, or a proud castle in a region peopled with legends, the *Wandervögel* always show their respect for slowly developing civilization, honor to native culture and sincere appreciation of color and sounds which belong to the soil of the homeland. The same spirit rules when a band undertakes to decorate the interior of their home. Everything must be simple, beautiful, natural and in accord with the austere life of wanderers. Clean rooms, furniture that might grace a peasant's cottage, dishes from a local pottery, gay hangings the girls have woven and fresh pine

garlands to fill the house with the fragrance of the forest—these make a 'home nest' for the Birds of Passage. This is the atmosphere they hope will remain and penetrate their daily lives long after their youthful freedom is sacrificed to the demands of the work-a-day, grown-up world."

Such was the spirit that had been stirring the imagination of German youth for more than a decade before that assembly among the western hills in 1913, when many youth organizations, united under the banner of the Free Germans, stepped before the world to defy Prussian militarism wearing the mask of patriotism. The Free Germans denied the right of any power to train youths for ends set up by adults alone. In fighting for their idea of justice to young people they expected help chiefly from those who were between eighteen and twenty-five years of age, but they did not reject the coöperation of their elders. In fact, some of the speakers at that first rally were men past middle age, but they had remained young in spirit and sympathetic toward the striving of youth for self-realization. They joined the young radicals in asserting the right of youth to choose its own path, to find its own ideals and to enjoy the beauties of life in its own way at its own time. They pointed out the unethical position of officials, employers, parents or teachers, who used the vigor of youth for ulterior ends without regard for the needs of the individual at that particular stage of his development.

The new youth associations indicated their violent reaction against the fixed purposes and dogmatic teaching of government, church and school, by refusing to set up definite goals or to tie themselves to regular organization and procedure. The Youth Movement appeared to lack an aim that would bring its forces into concerted action, but the leaders argued that this was a necessary and wholesome condition. They at least recognized a direction in their activities and that was the one given by the nature of youth itself. They had seen the misuse of teleological control and they were satisfied to let each stage of their development point the way to the next stage. Thus they hoped to preserve the vital, dynamic force of their rebellion which was rooted in the philosophy of romanticism.

Possibly the revolt of the Free Germans and the restlessness of the *Wandervögel* would have subsided after the climax in 1913 if the inertia of peace had followed; but the war broke into the midst

of these young people before they were fully awake to their own power and the meaning of their instinctive search for new ideals. In the trenches thousands lost their lives and thousands more almost lost their belief and hope in a better world as they lived through the inferno of battle, the intoxication of apparent victory and the final plunge into defeat and revolution. Those who came out unshattered in body, mind and faith, found themselves thrust into the third phase of the Youth Movement—a phase that seemed to have little in common with the romance of the first stage as *Wandervögel* and less with the interrupted struggle against imperialism as Free Germans. It seemed impossible to regain the carefree, joyous spirit boys and girls had known before the war when they had wandered through villages and forests as singing, flower-decked bands. It was needless to battle against political tyranny, for that appeared to be vanquished as the throne fell and no one seemed to know in those black days after the November revolution where the balance of power lay and in what direction the new government would point. To war-wearied youth, faced with the problem of taking up life's burden anew in a time when want and vice stalked the streets, the task of regenerating the romantic spirit of the Youth Movement seemed an impossibility and the very thought a travesty in the world of harsh realities which lay about them.

Yet the third phase did come to pass speedily for new hopes were raised by the founding of the republic. It was the idealists out of the youth organizations, who set to work to secure democratic school reforms, social welfare provisions and political justice, while the affairs of the country were still in flux and every move toward these goals seemed to promise a little gain for the ideals they had long cherished. If they had been dreamers in the first stage of the Youth Movement they became men of action in the third phase. If they had been concerned chiefly with their own development and self-expression in the beginning, they now justified that introverted stage by their zealous labor for the common good of their fellow men.

They were no longer struggling to be "free from" parental control, school discipline and a conventional environment; but they were now earnestly seeking significant influence, eager to give themselves in reconstructive work and ready to take their place within

the historical and cultural structure of society. These youthful idealists of the twentieth century were not satisfied with "partial programs and reforms but they sought the renewal of man in body and spirit." Their aim was to shape anew the national character, the German citizen, who would embody their highest aspirations and whose personality would be worthy of emulation by coming generations.

When these youths set up their own ideal of manhood as that of a character which is true to self-chosen standards of right and nobility, they might have been heeding Pestalozzi's exhortation, "Let us be *men* that we may become citizens and nations again!" German youth had started on a crusade to stop the nationalization of men and to bring about the humanization of a nation. Subconsciously these young people felt that the up-building of their country depended upon the reformation of national character in such ways as would bring to light the strength and virtues of the Teutonic race and rid it of encumbering faults. They sought national unity by opposing every type of caste division, partisan struggle and sectarian belief. They undertook to break the hold that tradition, militarism, intellectual sophistry and religious bigotry had acquired on the German people. In endeavoring to revive the native virtues of the race, the youth associations directed their appeal to love of the homeland and its natural beauties, to enjoyment of music, arts and handicrafts and to pride in the virility of the Teutonic strain. They encouraged travel afoot into every corner of the land. They cultivated folk songs, folk dances, village festivals and native crafts. Physical health and beauty were part of the growing nature cult and sport movement they encouraged.

To be sure there were many individuals in youth organizations who saw the goal but exerted themselves little in attaining it. Such young people betrayed the weakness of the Germans for sentimental idealism expressing itself merely in philosophic discussions, pagan revels and eccentricities in dress and conduct, which unfortunately were mistaken for the real essence of the Youth Movement by many people. These enthusiasts, who showed some of the symptoms of arrested development because they did not turn to deeds but continued their idyllic wandering through the country, were yet performing a necessary service, for there were thousands of German boys and girls who had never been touched by the pre-war Youth

Movement and might have been hostile to the new reforms had they not been emotionally awakened to their inner meaning. There were millions of boys and girls—a whole generation—whose adolescent years had been marked chiefly by war terrors and deprivations, so that they had missed the natural joys of youth at a critical period in their lives, and they might have missed them altogether had not the Youth Movement given the opportunity for every boy and girl to share in pleasures properly belonging to youth.

The picturesque elements in the Youth Movement stirred the older generation, who had seen the work of years destroyed and who shuddered to think that they lacked the strength to rebuild their fortunes and to restore a nation temporarily dishonored in the eyes of the world. To their elders this flowering of youth in carefree vagabond life and the revival of old folk songs, plays and dances, were like the promise of a new day for the Fatherland. If their years were too brief and their courage too slight for the work of reconstruction, at least they might rest their hopes on this exuberant younger generation which had gone back to the pure springs of German nationality and was trying to restore to the people treasures they had lost.

The whole country was groping for a fresh hold on national life. When Bismarck welded the loose federation of German states into an empire he had thought to found a nation, but the core of nationality was missing. There was no feeling of unity among the people. Lutkens says: "Once Hegel had said, 'Germany is a standing contradiction—what a nation shall be and is not' and that was still true of Germany after 1870. . . . There was a German Empire but that was Prussia, and Prussia was Berlin, and Berlin was the official, the soldier and the policeman." A spontaneous feeling of nationalism had not existed and love for the homeland confined itself to the native province and town. To those who stood in the midst of the Youth Movement, this lack of folk feeling and genuine national patriotism was seen as the root of many evils which plagued Germany before and after the war. When the Youth Movement was still in its infancy the leaders exerted themselves to wipe out regional lines and to draw the young people of the country into associations whose chief aim was to foster appreciation of their common racial inheritance. Wandering groups of young people learned to know and love their country as they explored its remotest corners

and rediscovered its ancient customs. Thus petty sectional prejudices were lessened as youths from the separate provinces became better known to one another and felt themselves citizens of a united country. But there still remained the difficult task of breaking down caste walls.

Germany had been sharply divided into the proletariat, peasantry, bourgeois, official, military and intellectual groups. Each was cut off from the other by unbridgeable chasms, sending lines of cleavage so deep into the social structure of the nation that its integrity was destroyed, although organized forces held it together so well that it presented a seemingly flawless exterior. The catastrophe of war and defeat shattered this sham of unity and the nation fell into contending parties that threatened to destroy one another in their panic of self-preservation and pursuit of self-interest. Wise national leaders tried to find the balance between unity and independence. Their efforts were supported in no slight degree by the Youth Movement, which called upon its followers and the whole German nation to lay down their differences and unite in the common brotherhood of race for the restoration of the Fatherland. This call for unification was particularly significant, because the bands which made up the Youth Movement had sprung from such different social strata.

First there were the *Wandervögel,* originally a group of *gymnasium* pupils, and, therefore, members of the upper class. Then came the Free Germans, who gathered adherents chiefly from middle class elements. The proletariat was represented by clubs of young workmen, some of whom declared their independence of socialist and labor organizations when they came into the Youth Movement. Both Catholic and Protestant societies for young people were numerous and reflected the influence of the middle class and the peasantry. Diverse as were the various groups in origin and purpose, they were held together by their common zeal for the unification of the German people, not in a nationalistic spirit, but in true fellowship as blood brothers with a common language and culture.

Religious motives played no small part in the growth of the Youth Movement. Its philosophy of self-discipline and human brotherhood was particularly acceptable to thousands of boys and girls who were already enrolled in church organizations and who saw

in the Youth Movement a modern revival of Christianity as exemplified in the life of Jesus. Religious societies were particularly drawn to the movement because of its attacks upon immoral customs of the day. They heartily welcomed an agency that would work against degrading amusements of all sorts. Yet they were sufficiently affected by the broad spirit of the Youth Movement to preserve respect and tolerance for other creeds and cults. Of the latter there were many which sprang up during and after the war. Some of them were occult and mystical; others were frankly pagan and pantheistic. But all centered their devotion on some entity outside themselves. If they had lost God they turned to nature or philosophy and made a new religion for their spiritual needs.

The diversity of elements in the Youth Movement is reflected also in the shades of its political coloring. The parties of the right wing contributed a comparatively small contingent, for conservative interests are so rooted in property and the preservation of social status that a young idealist finds it hard to reconcile such politics with his personal creed of human fraternity and national unity. The parties of the center, however, have a considerable representation in members of youth organizations. This is accounted for by the fact that the original *Wandervögel* and Free German groups came from the upper middle class, which was only moderately liberal. Furthermore, the church societies for young people tended to join their forces to the main stream of the Youth Movement, yet they did not always give up their religious character or affiliation with the great church parties which usually ally themselves with moderate liberals or conservatives.

Parties of the left wing added a great number of supporters to the Youth Movement, but many political radicals were inclined to scorn their activities as child's play and their idealistic aims as youthful sentiment, of no use in the practical plans of the politicians for the reorganization of society. Since the approach of young workers to the Youth Movement has been made from quite a different angle from that of other groups, it deserves further mention. The reorientation of socialistic bands of youth is particularly interesting. They had been fostered by adult organizations and indoctrinated with Marxian theories which referred all social unrest to economic causes. Consequently these youths had been trained to believe that class war was the only way out of their misery. Yet some of them

were willing to renounce their teachers and blaze for themselves a new path. They saw causes of unhappiness other than the unequal distribution of capital and they declined to enter into class warfare for the purpose of shifting money and power from one group to another. They did not believe that economic change alone would rid society of its troubles, but it was their conviction that they must strike much deeper and attempt to reach the hearts of men, so that they might come to understand one another by speaking the language of a brotherhood wherein class interests were merged in the common welfare of humanity.

Often surprise is expressed that the leaders of the Youth Movement did not throw their influence with one or the other of the political parties in order to achieve some of their purposes more directly. To many people it seems only logical that these young idealists should ally themselves with the Social Democrats, who have an effective political machine, a platform that verbally embodies some of Youth's purposes, and a considerable following throughout the country. As a matter of fact many adherents of the Youth Movement have gone over to the socialist group, but they still place more faith in education and in true voluntary social enterprise as means for attaining their ends than they do in the political machine. To many young people in the Youth Movement the very principle of party alignment is distasteful. They feel this repugnance to the socialist party no less than to parties of the right wing, for they see in Marxian socialism the very acme of materialism. Nor do they entirely trust democratic socialism. Communism has less appeal for they are fundamentally opposed to class war. While recognizing the rôle that youth has played in the Soviet Republic they are still unwilling to bind themselves to a system that appears so inflexible.

They hark back to their ideal of personal freedom proclaimed at the rally in 1913, "to shape our lives with inner sincerity by our own decisions and on our own responsibility." Although scattered in a hundred separate organizations, there is still a common bond that holds members of the Youth Movement, and that is their determination "to stand together for this inner freedom under all circumstances."

Youth's campaign for personal liberty has resulted in social good

for others. The habit of wandering is one of the most significant revivals of German custom brought about by the Youth Movement and is of particular interest because of its transference to common practice in the New Schools. Without the influence of the *Wandervögel,* the Free Germans and their numerous coörganizations, it is scarcely probable that a network of Hostels for Youth, or a series of Country Homes for City Schools, or a monthly Wander Day for all school classes would have been established. The newly inaugurated Bureau for the Welfare of Youth bears the unmistakable stamp of the Youth Movement in many of its departments and undertakings. Most of the Community Schools were guided by teachers who had been in the midst of the Youth Movement. The entire school reform is shot through and through with threads of influence from leaders in youth associations. Democratic provision of educational opportunities for all; school policy guided by the teaching staff; comradely relationship between teachers and pupils; cultivation of community spirit through parents' associations, pupils' councils and school festivals—all harmonize with the social ideals of the youth pioneers as well as with the policy of the Social Democrats. Method has been revolutionized as much because of the desire to let children work happily and spontaneously as by the pedagogical theory embodied in the "activity school." The curriculum has been modernized, brought into closer relation to everyday life and filled with subject matter drawn from native culture. Music and art, crafts and sports, have been given a larger place in the new German schools. All these changes speak of the lasting effect of the Youth Movement on education.

It has played a great part, too, in the revival of native handicrafts—weaving, pottery, house decoration and applied design have found a line of development which leads away from the esthetic atrocities typified by German mottoes, and toward a more pleasing new style. The fine arts, music, literature, drama and architecture are likewise freed from old traditions and are entering into a phase that looks to the future as well as back toward what was found good in the past. To be sure, the Youth Movement cannot bear away all the laurels for these achievements, but it has helped to release the forces which have brought about such changes. Its spirit was one with that of men, young and old, who protested against the stag-

nation of Germany's cultural life at the beginning of the twentieth century. Its strength was united with theirs to bring about a spiritual and cultural renaissance.

Trying to work outside of parties, creeds and castes, the Youth Movement sought to unseal the springs of life and joy and human brotherhood, which had been gradually closed up by the forces which created a materialistic civilization and threatened to dominate and destroy the western world. Youth renounced a social order where lust for wealth and power, subservience to machines and laws, and standardized culture and pleasures, had taken buoyancy of spirit and the light of day from men forced to toil from morning to night in factories and shops and to slake their thirst for beauty in the commercialized amusements of the city's night.

These modern youths wished to revitalize the human soul, dwarfed by fear and dread of failure before the popular standards of success which drove the herd to pour out their lives in the endless pursuit of gold, that their houses, clothing, education and pleasures might be such as would bring them the approval of like-minded neighbors and thus bulwark their social status. The Youth Movement protested against this sham standard of human values. Its adherents refused to respect the insignia of caste—fine houses, fashionable clothes, university degrees or profligacy in pleasures. They did not, however, start out to reform the world and win proselytes to a creed which they had not lived themselves. Again and again they said: "We must begin with ourselves. Each of us must form his own life according to the belief we hold in the Good, the True and the Beautiful." Then and then only, could they step forth into the world with the hope of drawing others to their way of life. First gain self-control and self-discipline; then they might dare to approach their neighbor and lead him into the new-found paths of happiness and righteousness.

Self-discipline for these German youths began with one of the outstanding evils in their national life—the excessive use of alcohol. Beer drinking was a sign to the adolescent that he had attained man's estate. Student fraternities in the universities were famous for their drinking bouts. Pupils in the secondary schools were initiated into the custom. Social clubs of all sorts imitated the revelries of the upper classes of society as represented by the German officer, the university professor and the industrial magnate. With scarcely a

dissenting voice, the members of Youth organizations declared for total abstinence and most of them made the ban against smoking tobacco as strong as that against alcohol.

For them noisy dance halls, sensational movies and lurid city streets had no charm. They joined gayly in dances on the heath or in a forest glade where no blare of jazz set the measure, but only the music of a violin or guitar accompanied their voices in a well-loved folk song. They scattered fliers condemning films that seemed to them to exert an immoral or dangerous influence upon the pleasure-seeking hordes of city dwellers. But they longed for some form of dramatic expression and found outlet for this interest in revival of old plays and legends, which they presented in puppet shows or festive performances held in the market places of villages through which they passed on their wanderings. For they shunned the bright lights of crowded city streets, where "one cannot move freely but must become a machine forced to follow a beaten track as mechanically as does the train on its iron rails." Fleeing from the noise and squalor and glittering show of the metropolis youth took to the open road, following quiet streams or narrow mountain paths, wandering over the heath or along the seashore, pausing to rest in quiet villages or under the forest trees. At night the sky was the roof which sheltered them unless they found quarters with a friendly peasant, until a day arrived when they became landholders, with a hut here and a farmhouse there, and finally great estates were turned into "Castles for Youth" as the period of inflation swept away many fortunes and forced former aristocrats to sacrifice their property at prices within the reach of penniless youth. In the open or by their own firesides these vagabonds gave little thought to food, for a loaf of black bread with a bit of cheese and sausage lasted long and was both cheap and nourishing. Clothing caused them equally small concern. Bareheaded, with open Schiller collars and loose, rough garments, they laughed at fashion and asked only for clothing that would withstand wear and weather and have a certain functional beauty as a substitute for style.

Early in the development of the Youth Movement, there arose much discussion over the relation of the sexes and the effect of this new freedom on womanhood. Hitherto the ideal of the good housewife and sheltered submissive woman had been held before the

German girl. Now young women were swept along in the surge of liberty which carried them, too, out into the world as independent beings, eager to win experience and influence in the new social order that was taking form. Many youth groups were formed for girls alone, and these wandered apart from the boys, following their own interests. Other bands undertook the difficult problem of forming mixed groups, wherein an ideal social spirit should rule above sex, so that boys and girls might first feel their common bond of humanity before they were involved in personal love. Since coeducation at the adolescent stage was practically unknown in Germany and rare even for younger children, this step toward better understanding between the sexes was courageous and important. In hundreds of cases it justified itself as common interests were established and appreciation of one sex for the other grew through recognition of the unique values each contributed to the group's projects. There were, of course, other instances where freedom was misused and immature boys and girls found themselves at the mercy of passions they neither understood nor controlled.

In sex relations, perhaps, more sharply than anywhere else young people experienced the full weight of the burden they had taken upon themselves with the vow of self-discipline. The matter was all the more difficult, because they had rejected conventional standards of morality and were in a transition period. In criticizing the relation of man to woman, which society had bulwarked behind marriage with the sanctions of church and state, these youths had not yet learned to distinguish between the false elements arising from free unions and the fundamental biological and social principles which lie at the root of family life. Youth was adventuring into the unknown without aid, having cast to the winds the usual safeguards that society sets up for the continuation of the race, so that it is small wonder that individuals lost their balance, and thereby brought the whole movement into disrepute. The victory of stronger persons was less conspicuous but far more important, for freedom gave them keener insight into the meaning of erotic and sexual drives than they could have attained in the restricted and artificial contacts with the other sex, which are prearranged in Germany by conventional society. Young people began to discover the risks and fallacies lurking in popular theories of free love. They gained respect for the family as a fundamental and necessary institution and they began to appreciate the responsibilities and har-

monies it might bring. They became less attentive to clamor about the rights and equality of women and were more concerned with the complementary values proceeding from masculine and feminine elements alike, both of which contribute to the fullest development of human culture.

In the opinion of many people, the Youth Movement was nothing in itself but a vague unrest and a passing fad, yet it became the bearer of many political, religious and social tendencies, which were seeking expression and struggling for a foothold in the new German nation. Labor groups, socialists, nationalists, Protestants and Catholics alike, have sought to win for their own ends the vigor and faith that burns in the younger generation. This concrete expression of the Youth Movement in various organizations is readily understood, yet it is misleading as evidence for the interpretation of the inner character of the whole movement, which no one can really know, who has not himself been touched by its ideals and experienced its struggle for realization of a vision. Application of its spiritual force to partisan ends is a denial of the original and essential meaning of the Youth Movement. A striving for unity has persisted from the beginning and it remained after the Youth Movement had reached the peak of its development and declined into a quieter phase.

This desire for unity has taught young people the greatest tolerance for diverse elements, which are encouraged to keep their identity intact within the close federation which now bears the name National Council of German Youth Organizations. The principles of this federation are in sharp contrast to the pre-war type of official organization in Germany, which sought to regulate minutely the aims, acts, and thoughts of its members. Here there is every possible provision for latitude. This step toward self-determination and independence is indicative of the spirit that Germany is establishing through her schools and social institutions to-day and is well illustrated by the articles of the Council:

"I. Membership in the national organization limits in no way the inner independence and outer freedom of affiliated organizations. Consequently there exists this important provision: no organization will be forced to a decision in the Council, nor to conformity to the execution of a plan for which it has not given an assenting vote. Only unified decisions determined upon in the Council take effect.

"II. The National Council does not represent the separate or-

ganizations and does not judge their special efforts and goals, but rather the things generally well recognized and common to all. The Council represents the whole of German youth and does not favor particular groups or purposes. To these it takes no position and recognizes no distinctions in value.

"III. The National Council seeks honestly and consciously as its chief task, to bring understanding within the group, not through talking down one group and making concessions to another, but upon the basis of honest conviction and expert evaluation of the facts. Principle: to seek the right and the real common element for the good of the whole.

"IV. The National Council does not wish to eliminate variants, nor to conceal the dividing and opposed elements. On the contrary, it sees in clear presentation and in public recognition of unique characteristics of different groups, a better way to reciprocal understanding and honest respect, which is better than shy evasion, and is certainly the one sincere road to true, inner sympathy between members of the whole."

Although it is impossible to understand and summarize the varied consequences and lines of influence which still go out from the Youth Movement, nevertheless some idea of the present status of this social phenomenon may be gained from data which were prepared by this National Committee and presented in their Berlin exhibit during the summer of 1927. They report that youth organizations enroll 3,600,000 persons, or 40 per cent of the nation's young people between the ages of 14 and 21 years. The distribution in various types of organizations is revealed by the following table:

MEMBERSHIP OF GERMAN YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS IN 1927

Lutheran	595,772
Catholic	881,121
Jewish	4,750
Socialist	56,239
Political	44,300
Vocational	401,897
Youth Movement Clubs	29,755
Athletic Associations	1,577,563
Miscellaneous	544,400

This exhibit brought together, for the first time in a unified presentation, materials showing the activities of youth in industry and commerce, family life and social organizations, in leisure pursuits, play and athletics and in education and welfare work. All these phases were set forth by the young people themselves in order to call attention to the cultural needs of youth and to point out their achievements in various fields. The exhibit included:

I. A national survey presenting the status of Germany's adolescents with respect to population, politics, organizations, health, public and private welfare work, labor conditions, vocations, trade schools, living conditions, and the like.

II. Free Time for Youth: the necessity of leisure, provision for folk education and general culture, moving pictures, physical education and sports, vacations and travel, technique of wandering, vacation homes and Hostels for Youth, week ends, the unemployed, music, theater, museums and libraries.

III. Cultural Movements of Youth.

1. Attitude toward society, school, family, sex, politics, festivals.
2. Music—folk songs, conservatories, instruments, books.
3. Theater—playwriting, scenery, puppets, etc.
4. Dance—folk dances and social dancing.
5. Literature—special publications, libraries, creative work, fight against trash.
6. Crafts—all materials and techniques.
7. Art—painting, drawing, modeling, sculpture.
8. Homes of youth organizations.

There are wide differences of opinion as to the meaning of the Youth Movement. Much has been written on the subject. Occasionally the German universities and Folk Colleges offer courses on the Youth Movement to show how its philosophy and activities developed. Thus they endeavor to interpret to the youth of to-day their own problems and the rebellion of their immediate predecessors.

One group says that the whole affair was pure romanticism—flight from the world of reality into a sentimental worship of nature and the past. Bands of boys and girls roaming through the forest, dancing on the village green and singing medieval folk songs, were following a path that led backward to the customs and values of a civilization that is gone and will never come again. They

were vainly seeking a retreat where they might shelter themselves and avoid the struggle that modern civilization demands.

From other sources came criticism of this new army of youths, because they appeared to be banded together against their fathers who held the reins of authority and power in the real world. It is true that German youth revolted against the social milieu which their parents represented. No doubt their disloyalty brought bitter quarrels into many households. No one can fail to admit the fact that the struggle between older and younger generations is as ancient as the human family. Whether we accept this state of affairs unquestioningly or turn to the psychoanalysts for explanation, does not greatly matter so far as the reality is concerned. The essential point with regard to the Youth Movement is not that its followers cherished a grievance against their fathers and gloried in estrangement, but that they sought to bring the adult world into accord with their new ideals. They compelled themselves to master their impatience with parents who had lost the fire of youth and they urged one another to bring into home life some of the joy and beauty that animated their own spirits.

Sometimes the Youth Movement was assailed as a phenomenon of homosexual inversion on a large scale. Critics purported to see this inverted tendency in the devotion of bands to their self-chosen leaders. These were, in many cases, erratic personalities who had not come into manhood's full estate and were alleged to be satisfying their sexual natures in abandonment to romantic ideals or in enjoyment of the adoration of youthful followers. Undoubtedly there were isolated cases of perversion, but only narrow-minded ignorance can condemn a whole movement and its leaders, because their idealistic ardor springs in part from the source that produces sexual attraction. Devotion to a cause and creative effort cannot be altogether separated from the procreative instinct, but they are none the less noble and legitimate manifestations of human nature. Much of the furor over the Youth Movement as an evidence of sexual inversion came from critics who were excited by a one-sided and superficial knowledge of the new theories of human behavior set forth by psychoanalysts. They failed to remember that a degree of homosexuality is a frequent and wholesome phase of adolescence, manifesting itself in hero worship, emulation of admired qualities in adults and in loyal and sincere attachment to comrades.

Endless arguments have taken place over the value of *Jugendkultur*, that is, youth's contributions to the cultural progress of the race. Harsh critics said that there could be no merit in youth's productions unless they were directly based on classical traditions. Thus, in their opinion, the phrase *Youth's Own Culture* became meaningless, since the real impetus to creation came from tangible facts in the present or from mature works of the past. They said that youth of to-day acts only as an agent for the transmittal of this culture, not as a creator of new forms. These same unsympathetic classicists and realists could not conceive of any work created by youth that would be other than valueless. They argued that the narrow experience and crude technique of the immature person necessarily prevent him from producing works of art or invention that have real worth. They forget that the very freshness that youth brings to his problem, his daring in handling media, and the unchecked force of creative energy within, often lead a young person to successful achievements that make his masters gasp with wonder and envy.

Defenders of *Jugendkultur* claim that it is an entity and not to be scorned in the cultural evolution of a people. As proof they say that the contribution of young minds to art, science and philosophy is the really vital element in the creative production of the world through all the ages. They believe that unique values spring from the nature of youth itself, and that these are not entirely dependent upon the transmitted cultural inheritance, but that they may actually be impaired by it. They are unwilling to regard the period of adolescence as a mere transition stage between childhood and manhood, or as a mere preparation for adult life. They doubt whether inexperience and immaturity are substantial arguments against the verity of youth's ideals and judgments. As proof they might well show how sane a guide youth's intuitions have been in solving some of the German nation's problems.

The importance of the Youth Movement in the development of Germany after the war is unquestioned. No description of school reforms, no balancing of political forces, no argument on religious questions, and no presentation of cultural problems is complete until the Youth Movement has been brought into the arena of discussion. To be sure, there are those who see only the eccentric features of the movement and who fail to understand that knee trousers and

peasant frocks are merely symbols for the new code of life that German youth is trying to develop for itself and give to its countrymen.

It was not the war alone that caused the young people of Germany to take a conspicuous place in national affairs. Their uprising was an inevitable result of the artificial conditions under which young people in that country had been living for a quarter of a century or more. Militarism and officialdom had penetrated both school and home to such an extent that the rights of parents to the control of their children had been lessened and consequently the freedom of youth was increasingly curtailed. The schooling and leisure of adolescents were governed by official regulations and social conventions equally binding. Schoolboy clubs were forbidden and sports hindered by custom and unsuitable dress. The spread of industrialism had narrowed the lives of young laborers even more seriously, and the caste system kept factory workers and peasants alike shut off from many opportunities for study and recreation which they craved. It seemed that youth had ceased to have any merit in itself and was valued only because of its use to the adult world, where it was needed to feed the machines of the capitalists and militarists.

The Youth Movement broke over Germany with a force greater than that shown by similar groups in other European countries, not only because German youth had been severely restricted and the issue of war lowered the bars suddenly, but also because the restrictions had run counter to certain cherished traditions of the German people, who had remained secretly restive under an iron régime. Long before the outbreak of the war, they had resented compulsory military service that took the best years of a young man's life, left its imprint on his school days in advance and affected all his personal relations. Love of the land was so strong in many Germans that they were never really content in the confinement of city walls and streets gray with the smoke from factory chimneys. As skilled craftsmen of long standing, some of them could find little satisfaction in monotonous service to a machine. Gregarious by nature and accustomed to close association with their fellows in village festivals, in guilds and in free societies, they were intolerant of restrictions on their right to associate with any social or political group they might choose. Before the war many a workman found himself dismissed again and again when his connection with the socialist

party became known to his employer. Freedom of speech and conviction were limited.

War and revolution gave the leaders in the Youth Movement their opportunity. They not only attacked national evils to good effect, but they did their part in promoting a program of humanitarianism that made the work of reconstruction doubly beneficial, because it followed the natural needs of the people. Avenarius, one of the champions of the young idealists, expresses a wish that the Youth Movement will not remain a mere episode—an explosion—but that its influence may persist. "When we exert ourselves in the interest of the present movement we do it in the hope of giving it a chance to live. We would like to see it an enduring factor in the entire field of youth's education." It seems safe to prophesy that this wish will be fulfilled, for many converging forces served to strengthen the idealism of the Youth Movement and to put its most cherished principles into practical effect as the following chapters will show.

When Germans of to-day say that the Youth Movement is a phenomenon of the past that is no indication that its power has ceased. On the contrary it is proof that the conditions against which youth was revolting, have improved and there is no longer much need for a crusade to give young people liberty. This *is* the "Century of the Child" in Germany and youth is coming into its heritage gradually, with freedom to play, to learn and to choose its own way in life, so far as the restricted opportunities of a crowded country permit. Youth is reaping the reward of its long struggle for recognition and liberty, because the state, the school and the business world are being humanized in a new German nation committed to democracy.

CHAPTER III

Hostels for Youth

TO-DAY in every German city and in many remote villages this emblem appears over the door of some inn or house to mark the location of a *Deutsche Jugendherberge*, a German Hostel for Youth. The hostels open their doors to schoolboys and girls and to all young working people who seek shelter and food at low cost as they make walking tours through their country to visit national shrines and to enjoy regions of natural beauty. Every type of building, old and new, is represented among the twenty-five hundred hostels scattered throughout the land. There are romantic medieval castles, ancient cloisters and watch-towers above old city gates. There are patrician dwellings in the larger towns and quaint inns in the country, wood-cutters' huts in the forest and fishermen's shacks by the sea, bleak shelters on the mountain tops and mossy thatched cottages on the heath. Merely to stay over night in one of these structures, to listen to tales of the long ago, to sleep in rooms haunted by ghosts of the past, and to examine the curious contrivances used in households of a bygone time, is in itself a liberal education and a rich experience for adults, and one that is doubly valuable for boys and girls of an impressionable age, who have the good fortune to enjoy the hospitality of the Hostels for Youth.

D.J.H., the emblem of the *Deutsche Jugendherberge* Association, grows very familiar to the traveler in Germany as it appears so frequently over doorways and beside entrance gates. It recalls to an American observer another emblem marking travelers' hostels—that found on hotels approved by the A.A.A., American Automobile As-

sociation. The difference in the meaning of these two symbols is the difference between travel and recreation in Germany and in the United States to-day.

The hostels are for youths wandering afoot in leisurely fashion through the forested hills and cultivated valleys of Germany's rural districts, or pausing for a day in the city to visit a famous museum or beautiful cathedral. These youths have scant pocket-money for food, lodgings and amusements. Their clothes are rough and their packs are light, but they swing along river paths or quiet highways with springy tread, glowing eyes and singing voices. Night stops them with that blessed weariness which comes over a body fully exercised in the open air and sunlight. What are their memories of the day's journey as they gather about the table in a hostel to enjoy a simple evening meal? They do not talk of mileage, of road surface, of risky turns, but they may speak of a castle tower, a cathedral window, a view from the hilltop, a peasant's wood-carving, a pleasant noon nap in the pine woods or the frescoes in a coffee-house. The hostels are distinctly for youth rich in ideals though poor in purse.

Although the *Jugendherberge* owe much of their development to the impetus given by the *Wandervögel* movement, yet as long ago as 1886, before any "nests" were established, there were a few scattered homes in the country for secondary school pupils and university students who used these annexes to their respective institutions for recreation or quiet study. It has also been customary for athletic associations and sport clubs to maintain shelter huts in the mountains and summer camps in the country and at the seashore. But these facilities, like the *Wandervögel* nests, have been available only to members of particular schools or clubs, that is, to two or three per cent of the young people of Germany. The new Hostels for Youth, however, hold their doors open to a hundred per cent of the school population and to young working people besides. They welcome all groups and individuals who carry official identification cards issued by the local and central associations. Thus their extensive network of inns covering all of Germany is being constantly used by hundreds of schools and thousands of boys and girls. Already more than twenty-five hundred hostels have been opened. The plan of the association calls for a total of ten thousand, a goal

which does not seem at all impossible when one sees the rapidity with which the scheme has developed, the coöperation given by local authorities and the progress made in the past ten years.

The history of the *Jugendherberge* goes back to 1900 when an elementary schoolmaster in Westphalia conceived the idea of a chain of inns especially for classes undertaking school journeys. Schirrman's article in an educational journal described his plan and aroused considerable interest in the undertaking. A series of small hostels was opened to care for elementary school groups first of all, because they had been neglected heretofore. Later the hostels expanded their facilities to accommodate young people who had left school to go to work, but who still kept their fondness for the "open road" and begged again and again for permission to use the school hostels. To take care of this growing demand for accommodations in the country branches of the *Jugendherberge* Association were formed in many towns, and each was aided in the task of acquiring suitable quarters and upholding necessary regulations by the Central Bureau of the *Deutsche Jugendherberge* at Hilchenbach in Westphalia. The central management flourished under the joint direction of a school teacher and a business man. Later a specialist in physical education completed the executive board. In 1913 the hostels cared for 20,000 overnight guests. Then came the war with its inevitable restrictions on travel due to the disturbed state of the country, the lack of money, shoe leather and food. The time and energy of young people were diverted from recreation and put to practical use in farming and other necessary war service. But with the coming of peace popular enthusiasm for tramping broke out anew. The first year following the war 60,000 persons took lodging in the inns overnight. The old Hostels for Youth that had been neglected were restored to their proper purpose and a magic growth of new hostels appeared in dozens of German cities, as well as along the seashore, by lakes and rivers and in remote valleys and mountain forests.

In 1923 there were 533 local associations with 78,000 members maintaining 1,700 hostels in which over 1,000,000 guests were received annually. Of this number about two-thirds were school children. Almost one-fourth of all the guests were girls. From this it is clear that wandering as a recreation was not confined to the sex supposed to be stronger and more adventurous. In their annual

report for 1926, the association listed 2,300 hostels, which had 2,107,000 guests that year. Thirty per cent of these were elementary school pupils, thirty-two per cent secondary and university students and thirty-eight per cent young working people, so that the needs of all classes were served. The number of guests advanced thirty per cent over the previous year in spite of increasing railroad rates, the financial depression and an unusually cold, rainy summer. But the association is not yet satisfied with the size of its membership list. It wishes to see every one of the 55,000 elementary and secondary schools of Germany enrolled. Certain cities have taken out a large number of school memberships. For example: each of the 168 elementary schools in Cologne belongs to the *Jugendherberge* Association and every pupil enjoys full privileges. But the promoters of the Hostels for Youth show how far the total enrollment still stands below the desired goal and real need, by pointing out the fact that more than one-fourth of Germany's population is crowded within the walls of cities. They continue to urge that all urban dwellers, especially children and adolescents, be given periodic vacations in the country where space, sunlight, fresh air and natural beauties help to restore the physical and spiritual vitality that city life consumes.

No other country has gone so far as Germany in making provisions for lodging the impecunious young traveler and school groups. Everywhere else in Europe one must depend altogether upon small inns for food and shelter. The country inn or *Gasthaus* is attractive and frequent enough in Germany, but cannot give the home feeling that pervades a Hostel for Youth, where a spirit of brotherhood rules, where alcoholic drinks are banned and where the cost is low enough for the slimmest pocketbook.

Thus far Sweden has no real Hostels for Youth, but has accommodated hundreds of young German travelers in army barracks. The Netherlands also extends hospitality to guests from over the border by lending them a boathouse in Rotterdam. Estland has opened two hostels, one in a city Y.M.C.A. and another on the shore of the Baltic. Two tourists from Scotland became so enthusiastic over the possibilities of such hostels as they had seen in Germany that they went back to their own country and established a Young Men's Holiday Fellowship, which provides unusually inexpensive quarters for trampers in the various Y.M.C.A.'s. Zurich has a very

good hostel and a few other Swiss cities will doubtless follow her lead. Austria had forty-two Hostels for Youth in 1923, some of them privately owned by schools or clubs and others operated by the State Department of Juvenile Welfare. The idea has gone out from Germany as a part of the Youth Movement, and she still leads the list, for her need was greatest. The leaders dream of a time when one may travel a day's journey afoot in any region and in any direction and yet find rest every night in a Hostel for Youth.

The craze for walking trips is not a new thing in Germany, but is another pre-war custom that has increased and spread rapidly because of the imperative need of restoring the nation physically and the economic necessity of following a recreation program that costs little. The morale of the German people sank to a low point under the strain of war and revolution, so that young and old alike were sorely in need of some recreation that would temporarily divert their minds from the problems they had to face daily. The Association has been particularly anxious to locate hostels in every part of the country because change of scenery is considered very important in securing health improvement. City dwellers who go out into the forests, or villagers from the hills who go down to the seashore, usually receive both physical benefit and mental stimulation from their new experiences, quite aside from the gain that may come from a change of air and diet combined with the opportunity to rest. The benefit that war-impaired children and youths show after trips extending over one to ten days is so marked that schools and social workers see scarcely any need of presenting evidence in defense of their extension of the practice of "wandering."

The Hostels for Youth, however, use every means at hand to rouse the interest of indifferent teachers and the public who may be reached through the association's publications. Following a plan developed by a woman physician who accompanied a class of girls on an eight-day trip to an island in the Baltic Sea and who reported in detail her observations and the physical gain of these pupils from that outing, the association has issued a blank for recording data on the results of a stay in the country or a walking trip for school children. They urge schools to coöperate with them in securing reliable data by making half a dozen physical measurements just before the trip, repeating them immediately upon return and again after two and one-half months.

Although the necessity for the physical recuperation of the German people gave a very great impetus to the movement for "wandering" and to the Hostels for Youth, there are other factors that are of equal importance. There is the taste for adventure and the romantic love of nature so deeply rooted in German character and directly expressed in the German Youth Movement. There is the socialistic tendency of the time seeking to unite all classes in human brotherhood and discovering a common bond in love of outdoor life and in group ownership of such community centers as the Hostels for Youth. There are the various educational reforms of the day, which look to routine school work less and less for the real development of the rising generation, and place their hope more and more in education through experiences, in incidental learning and in joyful contacts with real life.

Valuable as "wandering" may be for the physical upbuilding of German youth, it is doubly worth while from the educational and social standpoint because the trips are taken by class groups in charge of their own teachers. The shared experience in informal situations binds them all closer together into a true "organic social group." Both in plans for the expedition and in retrospective discussion of sights seen and information gained the class work is enriched and made meaningful. No better procedure or method than school excursions could be devised to fit the need of the new German schools to-day when they are seeking to educate children through self-activity, to unify the school curriculum around large centers of interest, to build their culture on native elements, to foster genuine social spirit and to make school days a rich part of life's experiences.

The schools are coöperating splendidly with the Association of Hostels for Youth. In many places where hostels are lacking or inadequate, schools have been used as *Herberge* during vacations as a temporary expedient. In other instances parents have opened their homes to receive traveling school classes which could not afford quarters in regular hostels. To insure full appreciation of the service of the hostels and better knowledge of the responsibilities of the guests, the province of Oldenburg has arranged that instruction in the proper use of the hostels be given to pupils in 600 schools. It is a definite aim of the Frankfurt school authorities that no pupil in the city shall leave school without having had the experience of

a several days' journey with his teacher and comrades, and of a few nights spent in the Hostels for Youth.

In many schools there hangs a map showing the network of hostels and beside it is the directory, so that classes, clubs or individuals can plan their trips and secure accommodations in advance. Several new text books make use of definite problems in computation of hostel fees, railroad fares, distances and time for suitable journeys. Through the combined work of the schools and the *Jugendherberge* most effective coöperation is secured for advancing the national program of plant and animal protection.

While the direct physical benefits and the actual gains in knowledge which come from school trips are greatly valued, there is another outcome more highly treasured, and that is the increased love of the homeland. To know the German hills and forests, the lakes and rivers, the heath and seashore, the villages and cities, is to love them deeply, and the educational leaders of to-day are eager to put every child of the land in touch with this store of natural beauty and cultural tradition. Germany is seeking national unity in a truer and higher sense than her people have known for many decades. The stability of their republic depends upon the cultivation of a real democratic spirit among the newly enfranchised citizens and the coming generations. In this work of unification the Hostels for Youth are taking an active part, because they make it possible for young people to shake off their provincial prejudices by learning to know and trust their distant fellow countrymen and to join with them in appreciation of the beauties and treasures which form their common national heritage. There is not the slightest trace of false nationalistic propaganda in this movement, but it is infused with noble and worthy sentiments that any nation would do well to emulate.

It is a remarkable thing that an organization outside the schools themselves is doing so much to advance the cause of the "new education." Yet that is the true service of the Hostels for Youth and they take a wide view of their problem. For they see the need of such provisions as they make, not only for school classes but also for young working people who have long been freed from school attendance. In other words they look upon real education as a continuous process which does not begin with school enrollment and end with graduation but is as long as life itself. They even reach

out to the adult members of the community and offer the social and recreational facilities of the hostels to local societies for lectures and meetings at lower rates than such clubs would have to pay elsewhere. The association is laboring to cultivate local initiative and social interests among adults just as much as it is working to expand the horizon of every German boy and girl.

The hostel authorities feel their responsibility, too, to the teachers who have suffered many privations during and since the war and upon whom lies the chief burden of educating a new citizenry. There is the great body of young, unemployed teachers who must waste their first precious years waiting for an appointment. To them the Hostels for Youth stand open as homes where they may find companionship and as recreation centers where they may revive their bodies and spirits. To the *Jugendherberge* come also many older teachers during vacation times. Some of them have only slender means and they give the last possible copper from that to aid even needier pupils. Most of them could not afford a vacation if they went to regular hotels. Many of them prefer the informal atmosphere of the *Herberge* to that of the conventional hotel. The love some teachers feel for the youth of the land makes them wish to be one with their pupils in pleasure as well as in work.

This preference for the Hostels for Youth as vacation homes is sufficient evidence that the organization has kept up a good standard in the management of its great chain of inns. To be sure, there are complaints now and then that this house father was churlish or that house was not clean, that a certain crowd was rowdy or that guests were inhospitably received. The central bureau invites criticisms and uses both direct and indirect means to correct faults when the complaint is justified and to point out the guests' responsibility also. For the chief difficulty is sometimes found in helping young people to realize that the hostels really belong to them, and that they, and no one else, are answerable for the condition of the homes, the conduct of visitors and the reputation of all German "wanderers." The leaders of the movement are so conscious of the need for training their guests and so jealous of the reputation of the German people in the outside world, that they beg that only mature persons will travel in foreign lands lest some youthful indiscretion reflect discredit on the nation.

In the summer of 1926 a magnificent Exposition for Health,

Social Welfare and Physical Education was held at Düsseldorf, and was visited by thousands of people who found in the exhibits there not only a cold statistical record of the cost of the war in human disabilities, but also much valuable information regarding the present national program of health and recreation in the schools. The model Hostel for Youth occupied a conspicuous place at this exposition and stimulated interest in the habit of "wandering" and in the better construction and equipment of such centers.

There are many new *Herberge* coming into being, carefully planned and constructed as modern hostels and community centers. Space is economically used and well arranged; sanitation is a primary consideration; cooking equipment is well chosen; dining halls and social rooms are spacious; bedrooms are light and airy; assembly space is often well provided in a gymnasium with a stage for dramatic performances; there may be a screen and lantern for illustrated lectures and moving pictures. Everything possible is done to make the new inns models of convenience and capable of wider usefulness. Their outer appearance and inner decorations are still kept in harmony with the building traditions and landscape of the region.

One views the *Jugendherberge* and listens to the promoters' plans for expansion with growing wonder that such miracles are possible in a land that is actually impoverished by war and subsequent reparations payments. The spread of the German hostels shows how obstacles can be overcome when people are convinced of a need, when a feasible plan is prepared to meet it and when many persons support it with good will and faith in the undertaking. Three definite sources of income were found for the Hostels for Youth. First: there are membership fees which are paid into the central office. Schools pay three marks (about seventy-five cents) for an annual school membership and an additional mark for a complete directory of the hostels. Individuals pay an annual fee of one mark. Second: there is the income from overnight guests and meals. This varies somewhat, but it is usual for a pupil to pay twenty *pfennig* (five cents) for bed and forty *pfennig* (ten cents) for breakfast, while other persons are charged twice that amount. Third: many localities have helped to finance their hostels by levying a tax of five *pfennig* (one cent) per head on the voting population.

There are various other sources of aid. Occasionally a private benefactor or a business firm gives land, building or money to the general association or to a particular center. A few hostels are war memorials presented by the community and many are dedicated to native sons, distinguished for public service or personal achievements, so that their names are identified with the history of the region. Local groups often raise funds needed for the rental or purchase of a hostel building and for furnishing or repairs. Many of the most magnificent castles in Germany fell into the hands of the *Jugendherberge* Association during the inflation period of 1922-23. A financial crisis that worked ruin to many capitalists and war profiteers became, by a curious turn, the means of bringing good fortune to youthful vagabonds. Leaders in the hostel association were far-sighted enough to seize the opportunity for securing priceless land-holdings and buildings that are fine examples of German architecture, enriched with all the legends and events of the past that make them even more valuable as homes for successive generations of German boys and girls.

The journals published by the central association and many regional groups are very good news sheets, but they are no more than self-supporting, for subscriptions are included in the membership fees and additional circulation is so slight that these newspapers really serve as publicity organs and not as sources of income. Even the advertisements carried are not sufficient to afford much revenue. Sporting goods firms are glad to reach the hiking public, but German merchants are accustomed to use very little space for their announcements in any newspaper. Moving picture films made by the hostel association are also non-profit making ventures, designed to disseminate accurate information about the movement and to stimulate public interest. Every film has been carefully made to show the various phases of life in the hostels, "the joys of the wanderers' way," the natural beauties of the German countryside and the buildings of particular cultural interest.

Even with meager funds, however, the management of the *Jugendherberge* has generally been successful in maintaining its hostels in good condition no matter how simple the quarters used, and they have carried on a steady program of expansion and improvement through the combined efforts of central and local groups. The control of each hostel centers in its local committee which is

responsible only to its clientele and the organizations supporting that inn, but which works in coöperation with the *Jugendherberge* associations for the district and the nation. Always the local hostel is under the supervision of the regional director of juvenile welfare, who represents the state. The local health officer is frequently asked to inspect the sanitary conditions of the hostels. Buildings and management are under the same general regulations as those in force for other inns in the vicinity. In the hostels there is little occasion for complaint about disorderliness, because none of them permit the serving of alcoholic drinks. The spirit of the young people themselves, moreover, is so strongly in favor of good fun, but no excess, that the tone of wholesome, jovial fellowship is well maintained.

Each hostel is in charge of a house father or, more frequently, of a married couple, who divide the responsibility of direct management. They see that the regulations of the local committee are enforced and that the rules of the house, made by the guests themselves, are respected. In many hostels they provide the breakfast coffee and in a few they serve something hot at every meal to supplement the lunch each traveler carries in his knapsack. Often they furnish bedding but many hikers prefer to carry their own light sleeping bags. Provision for cooking is generally afforded the hikers.

The house father must pass upon the qualifications of all guests. Before any traveler can be admitted, he must present an identification card which is similar to a passport, for it bears the photograph of the holder with some information about him and it carries the stamp of the hostel office that approved his qualifications for membership in the association. Only persons who are obviously accustomed to simple standards of living are expected to come to the Hostels for Youth. The knapsack, rough coat, knee breeches and worn shoes are the badge of fellowship. For the fashionably dressed youth with glossy suitcase and a bold or giggling "cousin" there is no place. Equally unwelcome are tramps who hope to find better beds and food than in the municipal lodging houses. Falsification of membership cards has given some trouble, but the exchange of warnings between hostels affords aid in tracing and apprehending interlopers. The rules of the hostels are shaped according to the habits of those who use them. Doors are closed at ten o'clock at

night, for the real hiker follows the sun in his travels and wants a long night of rest, so it is "early to bed and early to rise" in all *Jugendherbergen.* To the house father and house mother who really have sympathy for young people, there come many opportunities for making each evening in the hostel a time of social festivity. Some of them could tell many tales of youthful confidences heard and advice returned. All of them are called upon to give traveling directions that can be of great use in insuring the tourists' comfort and safety.

The house fathers in charge of the separate hostels have just as much trouble with teachers as with young people. Incidents like the following occur with only slight differences in detail: A schoolmaster wrote to a mountain hostel in the early spring asking for accommodations for a large class of twelve-year-old pupils. The *Herberge* father replied to him suggesting the impracticability of taking children into the mountains at that time of the year, because they were doubtless inexperienced in mountain climbing and inadequately clothed for the trip. Back came an indignant letter roundly assailing the hostel father for his refusal of hospitality, but altogether failing to thank him for advice that probably spared the schoolmaster and his class unpleasant hardships and dangerous risks.

To avoid such incidents the schools themselves hold conferences on school journeys and the Hostels for Youth conduct a training course for teacher-guides, where definite instructions in the technique of "wandering" are given. At one time they were receiving applications for twice as many students as they could accommodate in the course. It is characteristic of Germans as a race and of their teachers as a professional group that they seek thorough training for any job they undertake and very few of them leap into a new venture as amateurs. The success of the hostels is due to intelligent management as well as youthful enthusiasm. Thus we see again how the idealism of the Youth Movement has been transformed into practical attack on the recreation problems of school children and young workers.

CHAPTER IV

School Journeys

"Every heart, every soul longs to spread its wings,
To flee from the everyday world
And fly to the open, sunny, happy hills!"

FALKE

"ARE there any German children left inside the schools?" one is tempted to ask as group after group is met outside during school hours. Through the spring, summer and autumn months it seems that classes are out of doors all the time and everywhere. Boats full of children with their teachers ply up and down the Rhine and a dozen other rivers. There is scarcely a train that does not carry at least one group of traveling pupils. Footpaths along the canals and through the forests are beaten hard by the passing feet of many "wandering" classes. One encounters them in the village market place, before the town hall, outside a cathedral, in the corridors of a museum and inside some castle park. Hundreds and hundreds of children leave the dull schoolroom behind for a day or a week and set on a quest for adventure in their own land.

Delight in new sights and experiences is no greater than their joy in well-loved spots re-visited. Again and again groups wander through the familiar streets of their own town finding new points of interest under the guidance of a teacher with the "seeing eye." Sometimes they stop to sketch a charming courtyard or the detail of a gabled roof. Never do they forget to pause for a while on the bridge to watch boatmen poling their barges slowly along the canal. Never do they tire of the sight of the bonneted market women carrying bundles of wood and baskets of vegetables on their backs. Each stands for a world a bit remote, partly familiar and constantly changing.

Pleasure in scenes near at hand rouses eagerness to follow lines that lead out into a greater world beyond. Where does the boatman

unload his barge? How does the market woman find her wood? One class follows the canal down to the city dock, past fields and villages, stopping at the locks to watch the great gates close and the water mysteriously rise until the barge can proceed farther on the upper reaches of a stream that brings it at last to a wharf piled high with goods for the insatiable city whose roar is like that of a furnace, continually demanding to be fed. Another school group rides home with the market folk in a fourth-class railway carriage, where the great willow baskets now stand empty except for the meager purchases brought back from town in exchange for wood and produce. At the village station these city children watch peasant women slip the embroidered straps of their baskets over their shoulders and go off to low cottages to wait until the next morning's sun calls them out again to the dim aisles of the pine forests where they gather fagots and make more bundles of wood that will warm the tiled stoves of the townspeople two days later.

Step by step these German school children are led on until they have explored many corners of their land and are equally at home in the southern hills or on the northern heath. Summer is the best time for such wandering, but mild winter days, too, bring out even the smallest children and the older boys and girls feel cheated if they do not get away occasionally in mid-winter to see what the world is like under a good fall of snow, when the old landmarks are transformed and sports have novel zest.

Often a school principal explains to the visitor, "I am sorry, but three of our classes are away to-day. One is simply taking a short trip about our own town and will be back here to-morrow, but the others will not return for a week. The eighth class left yesterday for a ten-day trip down the Rhine and into the Black Forest. The fifth class is beginning its second week at a Country Home on an island in the Baltic."

Just then down the corridor comes a crowd bearing knapsacks and all the other regalia of seasoned hikers. Is another class escaping from the school without the principal's knowledge? He laughs at the suspicion. "No, they do not slip out. Long before the journey begins they are bursting to tell me when and where they are going and the farewells are usually festive. The group you see is from Cologne. They have stopped in Hamburg on their way back from Cuxhaven where they went to get a breath of sea air and to watch

the trans-Atlantic liners sail. They have been our guests for two days. You know, most of them travel on limited means, so the parents of our pupils opened their homes and took care of these young tourists. It has been great fun for children from the two cities to see something of one another. They have invited us to come down there to see whether we like the Rhine as well as our Elbe. Some class will surely go soon and accept a return of hospitality."

In several instances this exchange of visits between pupils of different schools and communities has grown into an established custom well described by Dr. Kiessling. For a period of two weeks a class from Dresden will go to live in Hamburg and a class from Hamburg will attend the Dresden school, living with the families of the absent children. Previous to the exchange both teachers have visited the homes of their pupils and made all arrangements to insure the visitor a normal family life, so that habits of eating, sleeping, and recreation may not be unduly disturbed, for every hour of the visit is full of new experiences, and the program must be well planned to avoid over-stimulation. Daily there is an excursion to some point of interest under the guidance of teachers from one of the local schools. If the trip is long and strenuous, the following day is usually spent quietly at the school where talks and pictures are used to explain more fully the history or significance of places visited. Many excursions are so brief that the class can return to the school on the same day for discussion of their experiences. The classroom of the absent group has been festively decorated for the visitors and well furnished with maps, pictures, collections, and books to aid them in their study of the locality.

The greatest social value is attributed to such an exchange of classes. "It is an important step in the communization of a people." Teachers who have conducted these visits claim that most pupils gain independence as they adjust themselves to new situations, that they become increasingly conscious of the meaning of family life, their relations to school comrades, their responsibility to the local community, and their place in the national commonwealth.

Secondary schools are carrying the exchange of classes beyond their national borders. Every year groups of older pupils are sent to France and England, while French and English boys and girls find places in German homes. There is no better way of learning

the language and customs of a foreign people, and there is probably no surer road to international understanding.

So important have school journeys seemed to the state departments of education in their programs for the physical regeneration of the school population and the enrichment of instruction through direct experiences, that they have passed a law requiring every school class to spend one day a month as a "Wandering Day" outside school walls. This legal compulsion may not be the best means of stimulating a good custom that promises to grow of itself yet the law is quite generally observed, although there are, of course, communities where teachers are so indolent or parents so indifferent that the regulation is not carried into effect. On the other hand, there are many schools which exceed this allotment of time, especially in their upper classes where the strength of the older pupils and the teachers' vision of the educational values in such trips make possible more extended tours. Many classes find it expedient to ignore the free day during the winter months, so that they may take frequent or longer trips in the summer when weather conditions are more favorable.

The law is new, and enthusiasm for school journeys as an essential part of the education of every child has increased in the last decade to a degree that is almost incredible. But the custom of "wandering" is no novelty in Germany. Perhaps the national predilection for that form of recreation is akin to the force that helped produce the Teutonic migrations and later sent the Germans over the globe in great numbers as colonizers. In his homeland, even the conventional type of German travels with serious zeal and complete abandonment to the pleasures of the "open road." With characteristic fondness for tracing to their roots in the past such changes as are often attributed to war and revolution alone, German educators have gone back an entire century to discover that the "Father of German Gymnastics" was also the "Father of the Wander-Movement" in the schools. One hundred years ago Jahn was holding his classes for sports and gymnastics in the open air, as do the German schools to-day, and he was also taking his boys on long journeys afoot, even into the Scandinavian countries.

It gradually became the custom in many secondary schools to round out the course at least once before graduation with a vaca-

tion trip into another district of Germany or some adjacent foreign country. The Landerziehungsheim have laid a great deal of weight on such journeys from the very beginning of these schools. They have taken trips to Italy, Egypt, England, Holland, Austria, France, Switzerland and Scandinavian lands. Soon after 1900 many state boys' schools were planning series of trips carefully with particular reference to the geographical study of various regions, to perfecting use of a foreign language, or to the study of art and architecture. But it was rare for an elementary class to get outside the schoolroom for a day and longer journeys were prohibitive because of their cost, even if the spirit of the old elementary school had sanctioned such informal modes of education.

School journeys as a common practice first appeared toward the close of the war as a part of the health program and the movement has been gaining ever since. The frequency and extent of such trips are amazing until one becomes aware of the particular conditions in Germany, which favor school journeys, so that every school and every child can pursue pleasant paths of direct experience in learning without many of the hindrances that American teachers would encounter at present, if they undertook to transfer the idea to our schools.

In the first place, Germany is a country whose regions are geographically distinct, rich in variety of scenery and occupation, and whose cultural history is preserved, not only in enduring structures of wood and stone, but also in the varied, living customs of the people. Life there was seldom a quick growth and has not been standardized to any considerable degree, so that relics of the past have been well preserved through centuries. Even the smallest village is a store-house of beauty, legend, and history, with almost every cottage unique in design and color, yet the group of them compose a whole, picturesque and suggestive of the ways of people long ago. Europeans fear the hand of the past and groan under the weight of tradition. Yet they love old customs and are proud of their cultural inheritance and the fact that they have protected their treasures.

Besides all the symbols of a bygone era that still survive in reality, there have grown up all sorts of industrial developments common to every land in the modern world. Therefore, the German child's study of his environment need not be one-sided, for

the factories of the present as well as the castles of the past have their story to tell him and he becomes as keenly interested in one as in the other when his own eyes discover the facts and his teachers' explanations help him to understand them.

Another reason for the craze for school journeys in Germany arises from the conditions that make walking a pleasure in that country. It is not yet motorized. Villages are frequently miles from a railroad and many streets know no traffic except the passing of a slow ox-cart. In towns that are large enough to have street-cars, both taxicabs and private automobiles are rare, but special side paths are built for the numerous cyclists. There are scarcely a dozen cities where motor traffic approximates that which passes through any American town of a few thousand every day in the year. Consequently, the pedestrian can go his way almost everywhere in safety and quiet. He may take to the main highway with little fear of annoyance from the dust and horns of motorists. He will meet no disturbance at all if he wants to walk on the beaten paths that usually follow the courses of canals and larger streams. The magnificent forest preserves that one finds throughout Germany entice the foot-traveler into roundabout ways that lead through avenues of pines and beeches. Walking becomes a joy and the pedestrian wins back his dignity as one who treads the earth "lord of all he surveys" with leisure really to experience with all his senses alert whatever the world of nature and man offers him.

Distances between villages are never great. In rolling country there are often two or three church spires in sight, and that means that the hiker has to cover only three or four miles at the most to find food and a night's lodging. Country inns are always clean and comfortable even though the food is simple. But school groups do not mind that, for they carry their own black bread with cheese or sausage, so that each person requires only a bowl of soup or a hot drink to make a good meal. If the tramper is lucky, he will find a Hostel of Youth for his night's shelter and school trips are usually planned so that one of the hostels waits at the end of each day's journey.

The schools have grown ambitious and widened the range of their tours so much that travel by foot all the way becomes impracticable and the railways and steamship lines have to be used for longer journeys. Thus the question of cost comes up in rela-

tion to traveling expenses other than those of food and lodging. The two factors of distance and railroad fare would cause American schools to hesitate before undertaking class trips. But one can travel by rail from one corner of Germany to another in little more than twelve hours even though transportation has not yet regained its pre-war speed and efficiency. As a matter of fact, most school trips are so scheduled as to be made in three or four hours, or in jumps a little longer, if a considerable distance is to be covered. In the latter case, the class stays overnight in a hostel, perhaps spending a day or two in each town on the route as they proceed toward their final destination.

For all trips, third-class coaches are cheapest and entirely satisfactory, though they are not attached to the best express trains. If the purpose of the journey is to see the country and to know the people, there is much advantage in the slower train which trundles along in leisurely fashion while the passengers chat with one another in a friendly way. For restless youngsters the old fourth-class carriage was also preferable because of the seating arrangement. There were benches along the two end walls and the center space of the car is left free, so that children could play games or move about as they liked. The lack of other benches presented no difficulty, for knapsacks and cloaks were piled at the sides and served very well as extra seats. Since the cars were limited in capacity to a relatively small number of passengers, entrance and exit from the side doors was easy and caused no waiting or crowding.

Third class is not so satisfactory for large groups, because each compartment seats only eight persons, but it does offer some advantages on a long journey and it would have to be used for an overnight trip or if one wished to travel by the faster trains. Older groups often prefer to make the first part of their journey at night, so as to reach their destination early in the morning and begin sightseeing or hiking at once in a new region. Pupils can pass the night very well stretched out on the long wooden benches of third class compartments with their knapsacks for pillows and their cloaks for coverlets. Sleeping-car accommodations would be outside the wildest dreams of school boys and girls, and they are actually used only by the wealthiest class of Europeans or American tourists. Similarly the dining car service is never required by traveling school groups, for the pupils jump out at the stations to get milk,

coffee, fruit or sweets to supplement the sandwiches they always carry. It is hardly necessary to remark that first- and second-class carriages are rarely used by middle-class Europeans and never by school classes.

In addition to the remarkably low railroad fares secured by traveling third- or fourth-class, the German National Railways responded to the demand of the schools for still lower rates by granting a fifty per cent reduction to pupils traveling with their teachers. The pressure of economy led them to rescind this order in April, 1925, and to allow only one-third reduction on pupils' tickets. But protests poured in upon the railroad officials from all sides and they finally restored the cut of one-half in June of 1926. Even this discount does not appear so generous when compared with the seventy-five per cent reductions granted by some other European countries, where the economic and physical status of school children is so much better than that of the Germans that the former have less need for financial aid and recreational facilities.

Even with the coöperation of the railways, the steamboat lines and the Hostels of Youth, the cost of school journeys still presents a problem to many individual pupils. Often a common travel fund helps those of the class who lack means of their own. Frequently the Department of Juvenile Welfare, the parents' association or teachers themselves come to the rescue.

The fact remains that extended provisions for school journeys and "wanderings" have come to be a considerable item of national expenditure, although no single budget bears the whole burden. There is ample justification for the outlay, however, in the actual physical needs of the younger generation. From sixty to seventy per cent of the elementary school children of Germany were reported as undernourished in 1925.

Educators who believed in the values to be derived from school journeys did not stop short by persuading the authorities to issue a decree requiring monthly trips for each class, but they gathered the experiences of successful teachers after such trips and combined them into a set of suggestions for more effective management of school journeys.

The kindergarten makes more frequent use of the school excursion than older classes can, for the younger children are not bound to desks and books and fixed standards of attainment. German kin-

dergartens are not a part of the regular school system, but they are usually supported and managed by the City and State Bureau of Child Welfare. In Hamburg during the summer months when school is in session it is a common sight to see a young teacher board the street car daily with her group of four- or five-year-old children who are going to spend the morning in the park. They travel at an hour when public conveyances are not crowded and they find good shelter pavilions in the park for protection in case of changing weather. Although the children are separated from the instructional devices which the kindergarten room holds, their own ingenuity finds natural playthings and materials in abundance. Songs, stories and games have their usual place. For the under-nourished, milk can be obtained from the stores in the park and each child carries his own bread and butter. Rest on the sunny meadow, or in an open pavilion is more refreshing than in the school. In some parks there are enclosures where children take sun baths and romp about completely unclothed. There are many sandpiles, wading pools and playgrounds with simple apparatus.

For the elementary school children there are three distinct types of school trips—those taken for pure fun, those planned for health and recreation, and those where both of these purposes are present, but gain in knowledge is also an important aim. Descriptions of three such expeditions may serve best to explain the different ways they are managed.

The primary group from the University School in Jena has planned a day in the country. Their school is divided into three parts as any three-teacher village school might be, so that the lower division contains six-, seven- and eight-year-old children. They arrive early with their lunches in knapsacks. Some of the boys are wearing belts hung with cups, canteens and wooden knives, the imposing outfit they think necessary to a seasoned hiker. No matter how annoying such incumbrances are as they keep falling off and have to be tied on again, no one is willing to abandon his regalia.

The class walks through the outskirts of the town, singing marching songs and shouting to their acquaintances as they pass. When they come to a hillside that parallels the road, they forsake the path and race up and down the slopes. Some of them begin to play Indian and robber in the shallow caves. A few discover bits of clay and begin to model with it. Others exclaim over the spring flowers

and call to the teacher to come and look. Several equip themselves with long walking sticks found in the woods before they take the path that leads past an orchard and across a wide field.

They come to a tumbling brook and follow its banks up the hill. Some urchins cannot keep out of the water, cold though it is, so off come their shoes and stockings to dry in the warm sun and on they go, finding the rocky path a bit hard for tender feet. A few girls discover another use for the stream. In true housewifely fashion they have decided to use the opportunity for washing their damp stockings. Zeal for laundry work grows as they take off their aprons, rubbing them on stones and hanging them on bushes to dry.

Farther up the hill some one has discovered an ideal place to rest and enjoy their mid-morning lunch, but the grounds are private. They consult the teacher and decide to send a delegation to the house to ask permission for the class to sit on a low stone wall just the right height for comfortable seats and bounding a beautiful garden. Their request is granted on condition that they leave no paper or scraps behind, but the warning seems hardly necessary, for German children seem born with a sense of tidiness. Out come milk bottles, sandwiches and fruit. There is some trading of favorite tidbits and the meal is soon over. Everyone scurries about to see that no traces are left behind "in case another class wants to eat here some day." They go higher up the slope to a flower-studded meadow and drop down in the long grass to rest.

Until this moment they have scarcely looked back or thought about the town left behind, so intent were they on what lay ahead. Now they are amazed to see the familiar Saal River a mere ribbon through the valley and the old town of Jena spread at their feet looking like a toy village. To many this view is new and the mystery of the change in size is thrilling. With great excitement one child after another points out the spires and chimneys he recognizes and tries to find his own home and the school. Then the teacher tells a legend of how daisies came to grow in these fields, holding the younger children spellbound, but rousing the older boys to argument as to whether such things could be true. There is tumbling and playing on the hillside until the word comes to start back. The downward path by another route goes faster. Children drop off from the group as they near their own houses. At twelve o'clock, the usual close of their school day, the last of them are back in the classroom

ready to start home and tell "what fun" they had on their school trip.

A second group is enjoying its summer vacation at home in Hameln, the town of the Pied Piper. Down the street comes a shrill piping and the scurrying sound of many small feet. A procession appears led by two men in forest green with feathers in their pointed hats. One of them plays a dancing tune for all the children who follow after him. The bigger boys carry long sticks with cardboard rats held aloft—gray and black and brown and white rats that bob up and down to the joy of the children.

It is holiday time, but still the teachers of Hameln give up their leisure to take the children out to their forest playground every day in the week, so that boys and girls who had to suffer the hardships of war years can regain some of their natural vigor by breathing the ozone of the pines and browning their bodies in the summer sunlight. Teachers, fathers and big brothers have built shelter huts up there on the hill that overlooks the Weser. The children like to think it is the same hill that opened and swallowed the Pied Piper and Hameln's children years and years ago. They half hope it will open some day and give them a peep inside. Some of the little ones are a bit frightened when that story is told on the spot.

Mothers go along to cook the hot noon meal and help the teachers see that each child takes a long afternoon rest. Play is the final prescription for restoring the vigor of childhood and there is no lack of interest in games when the wide spaces of the forest invite to old sports and ever-new dramatic play. Evening brings the wanderers home again, marching across the bridge once more with the piper in the lead and the rats high in the air. Every child in Hamelntown has his day in the woods once or twice a week all through the summer holidays and each teacher takes his turn in leading the band out to their retreat in the hills. Health and fun are the sole aims of these holiday expeditions, but who knows what relations between teachers and pupils are carried back into the schoolroom to make for closer comradeship, or what vivid impressions live long to enrich classwork?

A third type of school journey is that carried out by an eighth grade in Hamburg as the culmination of their elementary school course. They have planned a ten-day trip, stopping at Essen to see an industrial city of the Ruhr district, at Cologne to visit the ca-

thedral and embark on a Rhine steamer for the trip up to Mainz. Going on for a day in Frankfurt they then enter the Black Forest for a rest, a long breath of piney air and a leisurely walking trip through the hills before they start on the return journey by rail with only a single stop at Hildesheim to see the famous wood carvings on its houses and the cathedral cloister with its rose-vine reputed to be one thousand years old.

Weeks before, this class had begun to plan the details of their trip. Maps and time tables had to be consulted and many of the pupils' notebooks were filled with their own maps and schedules of the route. Daily some one came bursting into the class with a new bit of information picked up outside. Some of them wrote ahead for accommodations at the Hostels for Youth. Others secured permission for them to visit museums or cathedrals at unusual hours. Often they were granted reduced rates of admission. From the railroads they had, of course, secured pupils' tickets and from the hostels the necessary cards of identification.

With their own teacher who was to accompany them they had studied the topography of the regions they were to traverse. They had likewise made a survey of the industrial and political history of that part of the country. Individuals were somewhat prepared to cope with strange dialects and to meet unusual customs. The cost had been carefully calculated and much discussion had been carried on about the proper traveling equipment. No one wanted to show his ignorance by carrying extra things in an over-weighted pack and each was equally determined not to be caught without the small comforts necessary to a tourist and costly if they had to be purchased new.

The days of the journey passed with little divergence from the main points of the carefully prepared itinerary, but with many unexpected discoveries, fresh even to the teacher, who had been over most of the ground before. These delighted the boys and girls especially and stored their minds with memories quite as valuable and vivid as those that centered about the objects of previous study. The class returned home to take up their regular school work. But the sense of routine had vanished for every task caught fire from their recent experiences. The trip furnished subject matter for weeks. Some pupils worked on independently for months, organizing the data they had gathered, verifying passing observations, unearthing

points they had missed and preparing illustrations for reports that were expanded diaries of the expedition.

Secondary schools make frequent use of the longer school journey, because their pupils are of an age when they can take trips of some length and many of them are able to meet the greater expense of travel by rail or boat. It has long been the ambition of continental schoolmasters to polish off their graduates with a "grand tour." Even before the war it was the custom for enthusiastic geography professors to take their classes on field trips lasting several days, or for equally thorough modern language instructors to send their better pupils into a foreign land to perfect idioms and accent. The secondary schools were the first to acquire their own country homes and they have taken their full share of lodgings annually in the Hostels for Youth.

Dr. Schomburg and his colleagues at the Cathedral School in Lübeck tell of a remarkable exodus of their pupils in the fall of 1926, when five hundred boys or two thirds of the enrollment journeyed in all directions with their teachers as guides. A long delayed reconstruction of the school building had interrupted the fall term. Having to choose between detailed homework assignments and the responsibility of managing school journeys, the faculty decided on the latter as of more real educational value. Careful plans were made in advance, so that the region visited by each class would fit into their regular study for the year so far as possible. Parents were consulted and they gave their hearty consent with few exceptions. The city Senate appropriated a considerable sum to aid pupils whose private means would not cover the cost of travel. A loan fund was also available to parents who wished to pay the unusual expense gradually. Each class teacher conferred with the class "father" on plans for his group, so that the proportion of rest time and travel time, the climatic conditions, type of landscape, recreation facilities, housing and food would be well adjusted to the age of the boys.

The migration began just after the middle of September. Only four complete upper classes remained in the city to carry on some special study. The other twenty-one classes with hardly a boy missing and with thirty teachers in charge were on their way, journeying by foot into the neighboring heath, forests and fishing villages, by boat to the islands of Friesland or to cities along the Baltic coast, and by train to the mountains of central Germany or to the hills

and lakes of the south. The younger classes enjoyed several short trips out of Lübeck during the month of enforced vacation and stopped for a few days in nearby *Landheime* or *Herberge*. The older groups usually chose some Hostel of Youth as their headquarters for a fortnight and made expeditions into the surrounding country.

The delight of the pupils in their new experiences was no greater than that of the teachers. It was the first time some of the latter had led a long school excursion, yet they were already well informed about the movement and the service of the hostels, so that they experienced no difficulties. They found the boys singularly capable of caring for themselves on a long hike, because of their previous training on shorter trips with their class or youth organizations. The responsibility of the teachers as leaders was shared by the young guides, older boys in the Cathedral School who belonged to the student council and who regularly conducted groups of smaller boys on hikes.

In spite of the fact that the interruption of the school year meant at least one month's loss of class instruction, the faculty was almost unanimous in agreeing that these expeditions should be made for pure joy and not for study purposes. Yet each teacher found that his boys picked up all sorts of information incidentally and that their questions and discussions brought the whole group in touch with many important ideas. The younger lads held together rather closely and depended upon the teachers, but the older pupils tended to go off by ones and twos for half a day at a time. Even though study was not obligatory, every class returned to the school with notes, drawings, collections, maps and—above all—vigor that put new life into the school routine. The faculty of this school attributes the success of their venture to two factors—the combination of hiking trips with a fixed residence in the hostels and the division of responsibility between the teachers and the Youth guides.

Even universities and teachers' colleges favor student tours as a valuable means of gaining first-hand insight into specific fields of study. The Pedagogical Institute at the University of Jena has conducted many trips, because its former director, Dr. Petersen, believed firmly in the practical value of observation in varied types of schools and direct acquaintance with social welfare agencies as well as outstanding school systems.

Large groups of students from Jena journeyed to Vienna to study

the Austrian school reforms. Many of them spent a week in Hamburg visiting the Community Schools and other progressive institutions to be found there. They have gone to several folk colleges and to certain rural or village elementary schools. On different occasions groups have followed the full day's program in one of the country school homes. They attended the third annual convention of the International Workers' Committee for the Reorganization of Education. Jena students journey with their professors to any school in Germany that has historical importance or present-day significance.

Preliminary talks and readings serve to guide observation. Much discussion takes place on the trip and notes are recorded. Later in lectures and seminars frequent reference is made to the institutions visited. Not only do these young teachers have the broadening experience of studying a variety of schools, but they become acquainted with the technique of conducting school journeys, so that they will be able to act as class guides when they enter active teaching service.

The expenses for educational tours are borne in part by the students and in part by the university. Reduced rates on the railways and in hostels and free entertainment in some of the places visited bring costs down to a point that makes it possible for all students to participate. On a four-day trip to Halle, Magdeburg and Dessau the expense for each person was under four dollars. Two nights were spent in a student *Herberge,* where lodging cost five cents a night, luncheon seventeen cents and supper ten cents. Although the meals were not particularly appetizing, quantity was not lacking. Most German university students have lived on simple fare since the war, so that accommodations on the trip offered no new hardships. Individuals supplemented the regular meals with other refreshments.

The group left Jena at six o'clock in the morning, traveling fourth class to Halle. The students were in excellent spirits and spent much of the time on the train discussing social, educational and political questions with keen interest and knowledge that was often surprising. They appeared as well informed about the American school system, for example, as any corresponding group of student teachers here.

In Halle they visited the Francke Foundation, a cluster of sixteen schools and homes of various types, some of which date back to the eighteenth century. There the students could see almost any

kind of school, secondary, elementary, middle and vocational classes, as well as institutional provisions for orphans, widows and other dependents. Observation in a city middle school of the usual type gave a basis for comparison. In the afternoon the students walked out to a castle where three-year handicraft courses in enamel work, book-binding, hand-weaving, pottery, carving and printing are given to young apprentices.

The following day one of the city secular schools and a Protestant elementary school were visited to hear classes in religion. Afterward the principals of the two schools held a joint conference with the students whose questions centered on the ever-present problem of religion in the schools. Later a trip was made to two of the homes maintained by the Department of Juvenile Welfare to care for apprentices, journeymen, boys on probation, orphans and illegitimate children. In the same center was found a day nursery, a kindergarten and a supervised playground.

The third day of the tour was spent in Magdeburg where the superintendent of schools provided motor busses, so that the group might visit several schools and get a general view of the city system. A trip was made to Buchau where the many interesting features of that Community School, described in a later chapter, were studied in an unhurried way. A forest school was visited in order to observe the special provisions for fresh air, rest and diet offered to children threatened with tuberculosis. A third school in a colony of Dutch immigrants was interesting because of some unusual architectural features in the new building. In a private school for girls the students found gardening and household training as the outstanding subjects in a course for pupils who were either poor in health or awaiting employment.

The fourth day found the party in Dessau at the school of architecture. They returned to Magdeburg in the evening for some special theatrical performances given in connection with the Theater Exposition in progress at the time.

Crowded as this schedule may seem for a four-day journey, it undoubtedly offers to mature students rich material for discussion and subsequent reading as well as direct contact with contemporary educational conditions. Best of all, it recognizes the breadth and variety of school problems and it does not neglect the cultural needs of the young people, quite aside from the indirect gain to the profession of

their personal development through interest in arts, crafts and welfare work.

It is no wonder that school journeys are so popular in Germany, for the outcomes are directly in line with the educational goals now sought. School trips help to fulfill the social aims of closer comradeship between teachers and pupils, group coöperation within the class and school, and spiritual unification of the people of the nation. Trips that begin in the immediate neighborhood and extend their scope gradually to the whole country are excellent means for acquainting younger pupils and older students with their environment and fostering permanent interest in native culture. First hand experience that comes through the eyes and ears of the pupils is a surer means of broadening their knowledge than the reading of many books. Much is learned incidentally on all these journeys and certain occasions, requiring systematic preparation, make the pupils responsible in a practical way for many kinds of information useful then and later.

Prolongation of the common experience and further expression in class work insures clarification of ideas and retention of points of value. Physical rehabilitation is always a goal of paramount importance. But the gains which should be put foremost in accordance with the place given them by most German teachers are those which come to children through the sheer joy of discovering a wider horizon, of exploring new fields of activity and thus enriching personal experience. Every school journey is counted a complete success if the three last objectives are reached.

CHAPTER V

Country Homes for City Schools

"Unser Heim."

FROM the spirit and customs of the Youth Movement and the spread of school journeys has come a new educational institution, the School Country Home, which is an annex to the regular school. As classes took more frequent and longer journeys the teachers and parents became convinced of the many values to be derived from life in the open and experiences detached from schoolroom atmosphere and routine. The children themselves clamored for a chance to pursue outdoor hobbies uninterrupted. *Wandervögel* Nests and Hostels for Youth could not meet the growing need of the German schools for contacts with nature and for social education. Even numerous vacation colonies, summer camps, outdoor schools and recreation centers did not satisfy the demand for a situation controlled by the school itself for purposes of physical recuperation, social living and liberal education in harmony with the new ideals. Outside agencies were not enough, for the schools wanted places of their own where classes could visit regularly throughout the school session and where they could return year after year. The schools began to develop out of their own organisms a new educational type, the *Schullandheim,* which Dr. Hilker defines thus:

"The *Schullandheime* are rural homes which are occupied by single schools or clubs of pupils for days, weeks or months, and which are under the control of the teaching staff in order to foster the physical development and educational advancement of youth. In most cases some instruction is given, incidentally, in concentrated units, or in subject courses, yet study may be dropped altogether if a group is making only a short stay. The essential thing in the *Schullandheim* is the educational and developmental influence of social life in a rural, healthful situation."

In order to secure these advantages for their pupils, one school

after another began to acquire its own home in the country and to send classes there for two to four weeks of regular school time, as well as for vacation trips. Five Country School Homes were established in 1919, fourteen in 1922, and thirty-three in 1923. Additions in the intervening years brought the total up to 120 in 1925 and 140 in 1926. It is doubtless approaching 200 by this time, for the economic recovery of Germany is giving schools and parents' associations increasing courage and means to support the movement.

At first the founding of a Country School Home was not easy. In 1918 the Victoria School in Frankfurt asked permission and aid to rent a little place in the country where they might continue the garden work which their girls had been carrying on during the war with such obvious benefit to health and social spirit. The director of this school had been much interested in the spirit and achievements of the Danish Folk High Schools. It seemed to him that certain elements of that experiment could be adapted to the needs of city schools, but his request met with no response for two years. About the same time similar plans were made at various places in Germany, either by the schools or the State Welfare Department.

This official organization played an important part in the early development of the *Schullandheim* movement. Immediately after the war it succeeded in establishing many vacation colonies for children who were in need of food, rest and recreation. Often whole classes were sent to these centers with their own teachers accompanying them chiefly as a matter of convenience, since the undertaking was too great to be handled by welfare workers alone. Many teachers gladly accepted this new field of service as a part of their professional responsibility, because they saw clearly that their pupils must be restored to normal health and strength before they could carry on school work with much success. All over the country the physical rehabilitation of school children was a goal that temporarily drew more attention than the reform of school instruction in the technical sense. Yet the two aims were not to be separated and they were constantly linked with a third purpose, which was held to be fundamental to national reconstruction, namely, education for citizenship in a democracy. These three purposes, health, reform of instruction and social education, are at the base of the *Schullandheim* movement and have been given equal attention in its development during the past ten years.

During the first half of this period, the different school homes which came into being were scarcely conscious of one another. Every school, city and district was so absorbed in its own problems that it took little account of the efforts made by others in the same direction. Thus there came to be great variety in the types of country homes founded and in their internal organization. Some were only large enough to accommodate a single class and were kept by a single school for its own needs. Others were public property and could receive hundreds of children at one time, for example, all the eighth-grade classes from the elementary schools of a large city. A few were maintained by private organizations or teachers' associations, and offered the use of their homes at nominal cost to any school class that wished to spend a week or two in the country. Some of these homes had existed before the war.

Until 1925 no effort was made to bring these separate homes into connection or to discuss their common problems. In the spring of that year the Central Institute of Education and Instruction succeeded in calling together in Berlin another group of idealistic educators, the leaders of the *Landerziehungsheime*, Country Educational Homes, and the *Freie Schulgemeinden*, Free School Communities. These are private boarding schools of a type which originated in Germany thirty years ago. In their aims these schools have continued to champion an educational ideal which places physical, moral and social education on a par with knowledge. No small part of the programs of the *Landerziehungsheime* and *Freie Schulgemeinden* depends upon their rural situation and control of the pupils' lives through twenty-four hours of the day for the greater part of the year, so that undesirable influences can be shut out, a wholesome regimen of living can be followed, and the relation of teachers to pupils may become comradely and sympathetic. In the 1925 meeting of this group, there arose some discussion of the new Country School Homes, for there was much kinship in ideals and there had been some influences from these older schools at work in the establishment of the new homes.

As an outgrowth of these informal discussions of the movement, a questionnaire was sent out to all city school systems in Germany by Dr. Hilker of the Central Institute of Education. The returns were of such interest, showed such an unexpected spread of the *Schullandheim* idea, and brought so many inquiries from schools wishing

to found country homes but hesitating until they might gain advice from others who had tried the experiment, that it seemed an auspicious time for calling representatives of the various homes into conference. As a report on this meeting in the fall of 1925 and as a survey of the movement up to that time, the Central Institute published an illustrated volume whose various articles are coupled with the present writer's observations to form the basis of this chapter.

Of the Country School Homes joining in the conference, one hundred were maintained by individual schools and twenty were coöperative centers, usually supported by the State Department for the Youth Welfare, but conducted along the same lines as a school home. One of the latter type is the Children's Village of Wegscheide in the hills near Frankfurt. Immediately after the armistice, a military camp there was turned over to the Bureau of Juvenile Welfare which used its deserted barracks and stables to house 500 of the neediest children of the city during their stay of several weeks in the country to recuperate from the effects of malnutrition, bad housing and war tension. At first, physical gain was the sole purpose. It soon became apparent, however, that the children thrived best when they were active and interested, and that the situation offered rich educative possibilities. Gradually the purpose of the Children's Village expanded, so that it was no longer merely a "feeding institution," but a community for training in citizenship and a real educational center. The numerous opportunities for teaching by observation and experience were so inviting that one teacher after another eagerly seized the chance to experiment with the new principles and methods which were being discussed everywhere in pedagogical circles. Conditions were favorable to progressive work in this informal situation, freed from the fetters of the traditional schoolroom with its routine schedule and official curricula.

As the physical standard of German school children improved and social conditions became more normal, neither parents nor educational authorities would have been entirely willing to have so much of school time spent out of the classroom on excursions and visits to the country homes had they not been given definite assurance that some instruction was being carried on and that there would be no danger of lowering class achievements. Methods and subject matter

had to be altered somewhat for the special situation in the country homes, but teaching and learning were not neglected.

Each year since 1921, the Children's Village has received all the fourteen- and fifteen-year-old pupils from the elementary, middle and secondary schools of Frankfurt, besides many visiting groups from other parts of Germany. Between April and October the village entertains a changing population of 8,000 children, many of whom remain for twenty-eight days. The schools themselves always attend to the selection of pupils and the collection of funds. Teachers regularly accompany their class groups, so that relatively little responsibility devolves upon the management of the village. The business office requires a staff of three persons; the kitchen is in charge of a head cook with twelve assistants; three workmen are employed constantly on the place; and a doctor with two nurses constitutes the health department. The serving of meals, cleaning of rooms and other tasks about the houses and grounds are divided among the members of each group as a regular part of their service to the community. Because of this distribution of labor and the careful management of expenses, the cost for each child can be kept below 250 *pfennig* (sixty cents) a day. Even this charge is beyond the reach of many families, but class funds, gifts from the parents' associations and grants from the Youth Bureau make it possible for any child in Frankfurt to enjoy a month in the open at least once during his school course, and many children go annually.

The hundred and more *Schullandheime* of single schools are of many types. They may be rough military barracks or comfortable farmhouses, forest huts or remodeled workshops. Occasionally a school has designed and built its own home. No one is trying to establish definite standards for the ideal Country School Home, because there is a decided feeling that each school should find the location and building which best fit its needs rather than copy the home another school has found satisfactory. Much depends upon the age of the children who will make use of the building, upon the living conditions from which they come and upon the support to be expected from parents.

The choice of a location is made not only with regard to factors of drainage, elevation, sunlight, accessibility and cost but also with reference to the character of the landscape and its "geopsychic"

features. As Hellpach points out, the rehabilitating effect of a stay in the country depends to some extent upon the scene which meets a child's eyes daily. For children, a pleasantly varied landscape with meadows, heath and rolling hills is to be preferred to frowning cliffs, and the restful expanse of lake or sea to an outlook on somber pine forests.

Usually the country homes are from thirty to one hundred kilometers from the school, but there are some within three kilometers and a few so remote that classes must journey five hundred kilometers to their home. Some schools prefer to have a home within walking distance or a short car ride, so that the school community may enjoy the use of it throughout the year. Others favor a location which brings change of scene and climate so that the horizon of pupils is widened and their health benefited.

Founders of Country School Homes have been as zealous as their forerunners, the *Wandervögel*, *Jugendherberge* and *Landerziehungsheime*, in searching for buildings that are characteristic of the region structurally and historically. In putting up a new house they are careful to choose a type of architecture that conforms to its surroundings. In like fashion, they decorate the interior simply and make it express the love and pride they feel for their country home. Very few buildings have separate schoolrooms or dining halls, but the common room is usually large enough to accommodate groups in bad weather when classes and meals cannot be held out of doors. Large sleeping halls are preferred to small rooms, since supervision of the pupils and attention to ventilation is thus simplified for the teacher in charge. Frequently the latter has a small adjoining room. Overcrowding is sedulously avoided, for the majority of the children must spend their lives in antiquated buildings in congested quarters of the city where living conditions are so poor that many children have never known what it is to sleep alone until they come to the *Schullandheim* and have separate cots. These are often double-deckers and they usually have a rough mattress of straw which can be easily refilled. Some schools keep a supply of linen and blankets, while others expect each guest to bring his own.

There is some variation in the expenses of pupils. The average is between 185 and 250 *pfennig* (forty-four and sixty cents) a day, but the rate has been as low as 100 *pfennig* (twenty-four cents) in some cases and as high as 410 *pfennig* (ninety-eight cents) in others.

The range in cost is due partly to location, building and equipment, partly to the type of lease or ownership, but chiefly to the factor of food supplies. All of the homes provide an abundance of food, but there is considerable difference in the quality, variety and service of meals. The proverbial lack of fresh fruits and vegetables in the country is marked also in the rural districts of Germany, so that it is frequently more economical for the school homes near a large city to make their purchases in the markets there than in nearby villages or from the farmers themselves. Some homes have their own gardens and can supply the table with many vegetables and fruits in season. Very few of them have either cows or chickens so that milk and eggs are seriously lacking in the children's diet. One teacher suggests that German housewives have become so habituated to war economies that they still do not use an adequate amount of butter, eggs and milk. Certainly one notices the shortage of those foods in the country homes, where nutrition should be a primary consideration. There is always an abundance of wholesome black bread, usually with jam, cheese and butter or substitutes. Meat is seldom served except in soups or stews. Green vegetables and fresh fruits are supplied in moderate quantity. Cocoa is often served, and coffee and tea are by no means unusual. The drinking water supply is adequate and is regularly tested. Smoking and drinking are banned even in homes visited by older boys. Although this restriction is not enforced against teachers, many of them avoid tobacco and alcohol as a matter of principle. The usual five meals a day are served: a light breakfast of bread and cocoa, a mid-morning lunch of bread with milk perhaps only for the undernourished, a noon meal of stew and vegetables, a mid-afternoon lunch of fruit or bread and cheese and a supper of porridge with bread and jam or noodles with compote.

The cost of service is kept down by the work of the pupils in preparing vegetables, waiting on tables and washing dishes. Sometimes there is no regular cook but two or three mothers volunteer for that work. Often the home is in charge of a family throughout the year, so that the garden may be cared for at all seasons by the man of the house, and the cooking and other household affairs be managed by his wife when the school classes are in residence. The pupils are usually responsible for the cleaning of rooms and making of beds under the supervision of the teacher or a mother. There may also

be one servant who attends to the general cleaning and helps in the kitchen. In larger homes the laundry may be a part of the household. The care of the house is a slight burden since the rooms are few and bare. The washroom may have modern equipment or be in a separate building with no up-to-date plumbing fixtures. Each child has his own washbasin, cup and towel. In most cases showers have been installed and warm baths are provided once a week. Many homes are near the sea, a lake or a stream, so that the children may go into the water daily in warm weather.

Most of the homes have some provision for heating other than the cook stove, because of the cool, rainy weather that often comes to Germany in the summer, and also for the sake of groups who make winter expeditions in order to enjoy snow and ice sports. The invigorating effect of a winter holiday is greatly valued, both because of the physical benefit derived and the stimulating experiences it affords, which are even more novel to city children than those to be enjoyed in the warmer months.

The original purpose of the School Country Homes was to improve the physical condition of children and this is very well served in the daily routine of meals, work, play and sleep. The rest hour following the midday dinner is regarded as important for pupils of all ages. Although it is often difficult to make this a time of real rest and relaxation in the first few days after the arrival of a new group, it is usually not long until many children fall asleep and all learn to relax during the rest period. For some children a shorter rest before meals has been found advisable, if they happen to be the type who become so overstimulated by play that their appetite declines.

The Country School Home is definitely an institution for normal children and not for those who are physically defective. Every pupil must be examined before being admitted to a home, and those who appear delicate or seriously crippled are not allowed to go with the class group, except in rare cases. They are sent to other vacation colonies especially designed to care for special types of children. The vigorous, free life of the typical home would be hampered if the children had to be guarded by too many precautions and the risk for delicate individuals would be too great, so that physical soundness must be certified beforehand. The schools and the managers of the homes do not take any responsibility for accidents that

occur while pupils are in their charge, and they strongly advise parents to take out insurance for their children during this time. There are low rates for school pupils.

Medical supervision of the homes is very important, since the freer life may give rise to slight mishaps and illnesses which might prove serious if they were not given prompt attention. In larger homes there may be a resident doctor, but usually the teachers depend upon some physician in the vicinity. For emergencies they must rely upon their own knowledge of first aid measures. Most homes make some provision for motor service so that serious cases can be rushed to a hospital. The greater number of cases requiring medical attention are those arising from slight injuries or infections of the upper respiratory tract. To reduce the latter cause of illness many homes discourage visitors and have few parents' days, since they find that such events are often succeeded by mild epidemics. The teachers claim that pupils do not often "take cold" from exposure in their free outdoor life, but that they do succumb easily to transmitted infections and improper food. Those responsible for the homes aim to secure for their charges the maximum physical gain from a stay in the country by avoiding any irregularities in the living routine.

Leaders in the *Schullandheim* movement have not trusted to general impressions for evidence that school children benefit by a few weeks in the country. Although most schools record height and weight measurements these alone are not considered accurate proof of the physical results, for too many factors are involved, so that it is recommended that the strength of grip and lung capacity be measured also. In addition to the records made before and after the visit to a home, a measurement is usually recorded three months after the return as this will better indicate the lasting effects. Some children show immediate gain and others temporary loss, but the tendency to gain or lose is clear after a lapse of ten or twelve weeks if other factors have been stable. Physicians and teachers attribute the satisfying physical improvement most children show after two to four weeks in a Country School Home to a combination of factors. Rest and diet are important. Sun baths, fresh air and quiet are also valuable.

Actually all city children require such a period of escape from street dirt and noises, from crowded living quarters and overstimu-

lating experiences at least once a year. It may be that they also need some respite from the complications of family life. Teachers in charge of the pupils claim that much of the gain that is made is due to the element of variety commonly secured in the homes through the alternation of activities, and to the happiness of the children in an atmosphere that is free from unnecessary restraints, giving full play to the active impulses of childhood and ample opportunity for the development of individual interests. The rôle of the teacher as comrade instead of taskmaster and judge has no small part in the success of the *Schullandheim* as a health resort. Perhaps the new school will have no need of psychotherapy for its pupils, but some children from the old disciplinary régime have to be freed from school psychoses.

Since instruction first came into the plan of the Country School Homes as an incidental factor subject matter and method do not monopolize attention, but the welfare and interests of childhood occupy the center of the stage. Teachers dare to forget schedules and courses of study. They have opened their eyes to the world about them and their ears to the questions of their own pupils. They go with them into the woods and along the streams, through village shops and across the farmers' fields. The tyranny of school bell and clock, of books and tests, is overthrown, so that master and pupil may find themselves together on a hill at sunrise or singing under the evening stars as well as around the study table on rainy afternoons. Informality ceases to be looked on as an enemy to learning. It has come to be well recognized that the loss in time given to instruction is compensated for by the increased power and attentiveness of the pupils and by their zest for learning things that have taken on interest and meaning to them because of their first-hand experiences. Teachers notice that these effects last long after the group returns to the city classroom. The improved attitude toward school and study has come to be valued as much as the gains in health.

Consequently, the advocates of a stay in a country home for every pupil every year are not appalled when some one calculates that these breaks of four weeks a year would actually deduct an entire school year from the combined elementary and secondary courses. As a matter of fact, few schools are able to send their pupils out for a stay of more than one or two weeks, and still more rarely are they

able to send every class every year. Most of them are glad if each group has a chance to spend a fortnight in a home once during the entire school course. The above calculation, therefore, represents an extreme which may be desirable, but which is seldom attained except by the most favored pupils in an occasional secondary school. Such statements, suggesting that academic standards are endangered, have served to focus attention on the methods and subject matter of instruction as these have tended to develop under the special conditions of the Country School Home. There is some difference in the practices adopted for lower and upper classes, but similar principles apply to both school levels.

From the outset it was observed that the children preferred to be busy, and it was the mark of a successful teacher in the home to lead in activities when the pupils' initiative lagged a bit and to open their eyes to the unique features of their rural environment. Nature study, local history and industry, manual labor, drawing, games, folk dances, stories and dramatizations, are the chief centers of interest. A study schedule and definite assignments for schoolwork are not to be found in the traveling luggage of classes bound for a country home. Books are often taken along, but regular instruction in classroom fashion is seldom tried for younger pupils. If rainy weather comes or a particular need arises, the class may be called together for more thorough handling of a point that has come up by chance in their rambles over the moor, in helping the farmer at his work or in hunting berries and mushrooms in the woods.

The teacher does not have a fixed plan made in advance to determine what and where his pupils should learn. If he knows the region and is accustomed to life in the school home, he is fairly certain that particular incidents, observations and questions will lead to certain opportunities for instruction. But he does not try to force inquiries nor to arrange possible topics in a certain order. He waits for the favorable moment when the impetus toward investigation and discussion comes from the children. Then he helps them go further in explaining the new problem than they can go by themselves. He stimulates them by questions and fresh information, so that the outcome of such incidental instruction is truly worth while. Topics treated in this way are not segmented into subject divisions with a little arithmetic here and a bit of elementary science there,

tightly fitted into half hour periods, but the various fields of knowledge are naturally and closely integrated whenever they have some real bearing on the major project. In place of repetition and memory work there are vivid impressions in colorful variety. The most genuine type of "activity school" comes into being, for the children are not only in ceaseless movement physically, but their minds, too, are being exercised constantly under new stimulations.

Instruction in the Country School Home has come to have importance as a demonstration of the practices reformers are seeking to introduce into the regular schools. Even the traditional subjects are not altogether ignored. Although there is little drill in arithmetic or rules of grammar, yet personal and general expenses are calculated and language is cultivated in the writing of letters and diaries, in conversation, story telling and dramatics. Drawing is a favorite occupation and ingenious constructions with simple materials are worked out for all sorts of play purposes and household needs. Physical education, handwork and social studies—three subjects which have begun to take a large place in the elementary curriculum of all German schools—are particularly well-developed in the homes.

The environment is studied with attention to its historical, geographical, social and esthetic phases. Tales from the past are told and the children dramatize them on the spot. Nearby landmarks are visited and buildings and monuments are sketched. Although maps of the region have been used in the school for reference before the class goes out to the home, they gain new meaning in the open, as the children measure the lay of the land with their eyes and legs and turn back to the map for reinterpretation of its symbols. Water and land forms become realities instead of remaining vague terms. Many trees, birds and flowers are soon familiar friends. The occupations of the people in the neighborhood are matters of daily observation. The peasant in farmyard and field, the baker at his ovens or the fisherman with his nets are eagerly watched, their labors imitated and discussed until the groups gather a fund of information about the work that is carried on to supply man's needs. Every child begins to see the relation between natural resources and human enterprises. Usually the organization of the community with respect to government is an inconspicuous factor in the country districts,

but communal life within the home itself supplies endless practical lessons in citizenship.

One might grant the possibility of carrying out such a plan for incidental instruction in the lower elementary classes and yet hesitate to leave the lessons of upper school groups to chance in the same way. Yet many secondary school classes are following these same principles during their stay in the Country School Homes. By experience their teachers have found that it is wasteful to attempt to transfer the regular school methods and subjects to the new situation. A strong teacher can carry out the usual classroom procedure but he does it at too great a cost. To succeed, he must remain the authoritative schoolmaster and he thereby loses the bond of natural comradeship which is one precious element of life in the school homes. He must also neglect the rich opportunity for vitalizing instruction through the new materials on every side if he sticks to a pre-determined plan built for the classroom. A few schools were so fearful of risking loss of time and achievement that they required the homes to schedule regular class work from eight to twelve in the morning and another hour for study in the afternoon, but they speedily found that it called for too much exertion to establish school atmosphere for a period of two weeks and that only slight progress was made in school work, while the benefits of a stay in the country seemed to have escaped somehow.

Apparently no small part of the value of life in the country home is the break in routine, the relaxation that comes with freedom from daily and hourly direction of an individual's effort by an outside authority, and the pleasure that springs from opening the mind and senses to new and interesting experiences. It is found expedient to work with Nature rather than against her when living in her domain.

Many secondary school teachers who take their classes into a Country School Home during the regular year are not content with merely holding classes out of doors, but they reorganize their plan of work to accord with rural conditions. Incidental instruction for the older pupils becomes a more definite matter than it was for the small children. Preparation for the trip may have included a study of the region, so that the class arrives with a fund of information on local geography and history. This is to be verified and expanded during their stay on the ground. Perhaps the various fields of in-

terest are divided among members of the class, so that three or four are preparing a report on local occupations, while a second group may be studying the dialect, a third the geological formations, a fourth the plant life and a fifth may be collecting data on customs and folklore. For older pupils under the leadership of a teacher with insight the possibilities are infinite and of endless interest. Older pupils feel the need of a special place and time for group work more than do the younger children, and most schools owning country homes have provided one or two schoolrooms with the necessary equipment for written work and quiet study. A few teachers report that their classes are able to work more effectively when they are away from the many other groups which make a large city school with hundreds of pupils into a mass situation, no matter how well the crowd is controlled.

Evidence that school work of good standard is carried on by many secondary classes during their stay in the country appears in the various notebooks the pupils keep, in special records and exhibits they make during and after the visit and in the reports of a great number of the teachers. Again it is possible to characterize the method of instruction with popular captions—"Education Through Experience," "Unified Instruction" and "Self-Activity." It is also possible to identify subject fields and it is found that most secondary school subjects are used in various connections. The only subjects for which one might reasonably claim neglect are the foreign languages. Some secondary school teachers assert that the modern languages have little place out in the country and the ancient languages none at all. Others report real interest from the pupils and marked advance in the modern languages when foreign newspapers are substituted for the usual class readings, and conversations on current events are conducted with interest focused on ideas and no special attention given to grammatical form. Even Latin has its advocates, but the concensus of opinion seems to be that only one language should be taught during such a short period and that a modern one is preferable.

Most secondary school teachers look upon their stay in the home as an opportunity to experiment with new principles of instruction to a degree not possible in the regular higher school, where conditions are even less favorable for the introduction of school reforms than in the elementary school. Requirements are definite and spe-

cialists teach the different subjects, each jealously guarding his allotment of time. In the Country School Home, however, there are probably only three or four teachers at a time and there may be only one with a group. Each can develop a unit of work involving several subjects, concentrated around a single center which may be the region itself, a historical period, or a series of smaller group or individual projects. Such thorough type studies, based on materials at hand, are felt to have some advantages over the usual system of subject courses in secondary schools. The experience of instructing in a Home has led many a teacher to become an advocate of secondary school reforms.

Social education is the third value of the Country School Homes which wins more and more recognition from parents and teachers. In every phase of the communal life there is a new opportunity to foster social motives and to practice social service. In the beginning many young egotists try to get the best bed and the choicest bits of food. They avoid household tasks, disregard the simple rules of the little community and make themselves general nuisances. In the democratic atmosphere of the home, the teachers scarcely need to exercise their authority, for the miscreant's own comrades take him in hand and a flexible, unconscious sort of self-government is established almost automatically. But it does not always carry over to the community outside the home. Most school homes have been involved in difficulties with their neighbors at one time or another. Too often the urchin from city streets is a trouble-maker when he gets to the country. He plunders the farmer's orchard, throws stones in the village duck pond, tramples cultivated fields and incurs the justifiable displeasure of the neighbors by offenses that may have been merely thoughtless or inspired by dare-deviltry.

There is much need of adjustment to the neighbors, because rural life in Germany centers in villages and is not scattered on farms remote from one another. The children from the city find themselves in daily contact with many other people who are engaged in their regular and important work. When a school group has learned to live with the villagers in mutual consideration and esteem the children have learned one of the greatest lessons in citizenship. If they go farther and begin to exchange service and courtesies, they achieve a high goal in social fellowship. Many of the school homes do make this advance. Their pupils go out into the harvest field to

help the peasants gather beets or thresh the grain. They invite the villagers to their games and festivals. They give dramatic performances in their honor. A few schools have even had village school classes as their guests in the city after they had returned to their homes, so that their country friends might know and enjoy the life of the metropolis as they had come to understand and appreciate the ways of the village. Others have offered their country homes to school groups from other cities and parts of the country. By such exchange children speaking different dialects and following unlike customs are brought closer together in knowledge and sympathy for one another.

The deeper meaning of the school homes lies in this knitting together of the individuals and groups of a nation. Group life, shared labor and pleasures, common ideals and experiences, devotion to leaders and service to others are basic elements in the Country School Homes. They have made a great contribution to the objectives of social education and training for democratic citizenship which the German schools have set up as paramount aims for the educational system of their new republic.

The *Schullandheim* is one innovation in German schools that might profitably be transferred to the United States. We already have many summer camps ranging from the exclusive private camps to those maintained by settlements. But their management and activities are seldom connected with any school, so that class work and spirit do not gain as much from the summer experiences of individual children as might be possible if groups went to the country or seashore with some of their own teachers who had guided preparation for these excursions and who utilized the outcomes in later school work.

However, there are certain difficulties in the way of transfer. American schools have a long summer vacation while German schools are in session throughout the year except for one summer month. The latter also have holidays of one week in the early spring, the early summer and the early fall, at times when outdoor life is most alluring, and these intervals can be well used for a stay in the country. American teachers and school children have been accustomed to a long summer break ever since the days when the farming season set the school calendar, but the growth of summer schools and camps shows a tendency to regard education as a twelve

months' job, and eventually that may change the division of the school year, so that activities which can be carried on well only in the summer months may be incorporated into the curriculum and given fuller development than is now possible in any public school in the United States. A few private schools here maintain their own camps but with a considerable change of enrollment during the summer. German educators picture the gains their pupils make in health, knowledge and social behavior so convincingly that it is to be hoped some American public school will dare the experiment of establishing a country home.

CHAPTER VI

Sports and Recreation

"Physical education is the doctor at the sick-bed of the German nation."

THE first request of the German schoolboy upon meeting a traveler from across the Atlantic is always, "Tell us about sports in America!" Such eagerness to learn about play and physical education in a foreign country reveals one of the outstanding traits of the German people to-day—their enthusiasm for sports and recreation. Young and old alike seem to have embarked upon a passionate crusade for health and renewed vitality. Forest paths are alive with hikers; canals and rivers have become busy thoroughfares for pleasure boats and rowing crews; athletic fields swarm with teams at play and individuals practicing feats of strength and skill. Nor is this a single seasonal enthusiasm; the summer finds bathers thronging the pools at every hour of the day and in winter railroads must run special sports trains to accommodate skiers and skaters. Dancing, too, has become a popular pastime, and in many cafés lively jazz bands have succeeded the staid orchestras with their repertoire of folk music and operatic airs. The week-end custom, imported from England and America, has struck Germany with full force. Tourist bureaus have begun to thrive and everywhere there now appear journals and placards advertising sport centers and sporting equipment. The whole German nation is striving toward a new ideal—physical fitness and beauty. Already one sees marked progress toward this goal. In place of the well-known corpulent type of German boy and girl one now finds slender individuals, lithe, vigorous, enthusiastic—German youth of to-day.

Interest in sports has gone far beyond the German idea of recreation before the war just as sports have advanced in all other countries during the past two decades. Twenty years ago one found young people and adults in Germany taking their recreation in beer gardens and coffee houses where they drank quantities of liquids

and ate rich cakes, then strolled about under the trees or sat listening to the music. Even the numerous walking parties encountered in the forests were usually on their way to a restaurant at the top of the hill, and one hearty meal there replaced the few ounces of weight any person might have lost on the climb.

A considerable number of athletic clubs for adults had existed for decades. The most famous of them were the *Turnvereine*, or gymnastic associations, which had their own gymnasiums in every town and city and drew their membership from the middle classes. Similar groups also maintained clubs for mountain climbing. Boating, tennis and skiing were restricted largely to people of the rich, leisure class. Football as a professional game had just begun to appear in Germany before the war and it has never achieved popularity as a school sport. Golf courses are only now being laid out. Country clubs did not exist previously, because the wealthier classes entertained on their own estates and the ordinary man took his friends and family to a garden café.

Lack of interest in athletics may have been due to common aversion to the severe course in military training which every German youth was required to undergo for one to three years. A social standard of extreme decorum also worked against the freedom in dress and movement that accompanies any vigorous sport. The sheltered position of upper-class women made it unthinkable that well-bred girls should appear in public lightly clad for gymnastics and exhibiting strength out of harmony with the current concept of delicate womanhood. As for the men, German ideals of masculine behavior had been shaped according to three standards—that of the army officer, physically well-trained in a systematic way and meticulously correct in appearance; that of the university professor, indifferent to his physical condition and cultivating a studied negligence in dress to show that his mind was on higher matters; and that of the government official, physically inactive and as unbending in deportment as he was rigid in law enforcement. These men dominated German thought and action before the war. None of them had anything in common with the real type of sportsman. Murmurs against them were audible thirty years ago and thoughtful liberals of that day often mentioned the need for a national type that would be more like the "English gentleman" with his zeal for sport and fair play. Much of the blame for lack of interest in recreation must be laid

at the door of the school, yet that institution reflected only the general attitude of the people.

Physical training in the old schools was a dreary matter of drill and discipline. Boys and girls in the secondary schools were required to spend only two or three periods a week in formal work in the gymnasium or classroom and ten minutes a day on the school courtyard in calisthenics. This work was carried on in regular school clothing. Secondary school boys wore high collars, cuffs, coats, vests, long trousers and street shoes. Regular gymnasium suits and shower baths were practically unknown. The pupils would return to their classrooms so hot and uncomfortable that they were unfit for classwork and they drew little benefit from exercise carried on under such unhygienic conditions. No games were played at all. The chief form of outdoor exercise was to take dignified walks after school in groups of three or four, generally ending up at some coffee house if a teacher or a parent had accompanied the boys. Upper-class boys invariably stepped out in the afternoon and paraded up and down the boulevards with canes on their arms. Indoors their most frequent diversion was chess. The elementary school gave enough time to physical education on the schedule, but the conditions and methods were not stimulating to wholesome physical exercise.

In 1913 a few forms of sport had begun to make their way into the German schools as the boys became interested in hiking, boy scout work and rowing. Rowing had long been rather popular on account of the many rivers and lakes throughout the country, but it was restricted to a very small number of the boys and never open to the girls. The Youth Movement began to make great headway among secondary schoolboys in 1912. In connection with this movement, there were quite a number of clubs and organizations which encouraged some form of athletic activity. A few of these were distinctly of patriotic type or somewhat military in their nature. The chief form of sport in the clubs to which the boys belonged was hiking. Teachers often went along on these walking trips but their function was merely supervisory. They rarely entered into the games the boys played during rest periods.

The school with a stilted form of physical training and an inadequate play program is a thing of the past in Germany. Now sport forms an integral part of physical training in all schools from the kindergarten through the university. In every school at least

two hours a week are devoted to physical exercise and, in addition, two hours a week are set aside for sports on an afternoon, usually Wednesday, when no classes are allowed to meet after twelve o'clock. Saturday afternoons are always free, but that holiday is less often in charge of the school. The school law requires that nine whole days at least be used each year for long excursions which have for their primary purpose the development of health and, secondarily, the enrichment of instruction. Every child must participate regularly in exercises and games calculated to increase his physical strength and courage. Pupils unable to join in the more strenuous play of the group are given special corrective exercises and activities fitted to their needs.

Methods in physical education have been greatly changed. Formal drills and apparatus work have given way to outdoor exercises and play. Team games have a large place in the new recreational program of the German nation and the German schools, because team play is believed to be one important means of fostering social spirit and coöperative effort. The old type of gymnastic and military drills were individualistic and worked against group spirit, for even though they forced every person into a machine-like uniformity of action they aroused little unity of feeling or purpose. Obedience to the sharp command of an authoritative leader is a less educative experience than is active responsibility as a member of the group and voluntary submission to the will of the team. It is the team spirit that democracy requires and German schools are now offering their boys and girls every chance to learn their first lessons in citizenship on the playground. Basketball, volley ball, handball, hockey and a few games little known in America are played in most schools. Baseball is rare and football is considered too professional a game so that it is seldom played by secondary school teams. Girls usually play the same games as boys with a few modifications in the rules. The equipment and regulations for both boys' and girls' games vary slightly from those which are customary in the United States.

Swimming is obligatory in the program of all schools that can arrange for it and many inland cities are building pools. One day in a secondary school in Lübeck we were surprised to hear the history professor open his class with this remark: "There are some bad boys in this room who have not yet learned to swim. What is the

matter? Is the water too cold? Does it bite?" Forty boys laughed good-naturedly with him and four laggards promised to bring slips showing that they had gone to the pools daily. One reported that he had reached the first standard of attainment and the teacher clapped him on the back enthusiastically. "Good, Hans, so you have made the distance. Come on, the rest of you, let's see how soon this will be a class of whales!" With that the matter was dismissed and the regular lesson begun in the same vigorous fashion.

Since this history professor is also head of the physical education department he has a double influence over the boys and a balanced view of their physical and intellectual needs. The school is large enough to have three or four teachers of sports and gymnastics, but to avoid the narrowness of specialists, each of them, as a matter of principle, conducts other classes, too. This is usually the case with teachers of physical education in both elementary and secondary schools. They are at the same time specialists and regular teachers.

Lübeck lies near the Baltic and is threaded with rivers and canals so that learning to swim is almost as necessary as learning to walk. A number of bathing pools in streams running through the heart of the city are open to school children. In the summer months enthusiastic swimmers and those who are below standard may be seen splashing in the water before seven o'clock in the morning and again after school. It is no small achievement for a school of seven hundred boys to report over seventy-five per cent as good swimmers.

In towns where conditions are favorable rowing is required for pupils beyond fifteen years of age. Many of the larger schools arrange to include skiing, coasting, skating and tennis in their physical education courses. Track athletics are very popular and practice in running, jumping, vaulting and throwing, occupies a considerable part of the time in gymnasium classes. The school day in Germany ends between one and two o'clock and the afternoon hours are spent on the playground by many boys and girls who are eager to develop skill in athletic feats. During the long evenings of the northern summer games can be played until nine o'clock, and German schools are in session throughout the summer except for one month's vacation. Individual schools have their own field days and, at long intervals, hold competitive meets with other schools. Interschool rivalry is not the predominant feature of athletics. As yet there are few contests between schools in different towns although there are

occasional athletic meets for the schools at a single city. The annual Community Field Day brings out every child from every school to take part in track events, folk dances and gymnastic exhibitions. Not only the physical education teacher but almost every other teacher in the schools shares in the preparation for these occasions and aids in the management of the class groups. Organized cheering has not yet become a part of the performance, for the pupils are all participating and the audience is made up chiefly of parents so that applause is entirely spontaneous and incidental.

During school periods, formal drills have been abandoned in favor of various new gymnastic systems. One method developed by Bode emphasizes free movements and natural positions taken by the human body at work, imitating the forceful movements made in chopping wood, pushing a wagon or lifting a load. Another evolved by Mensendieck gives much attention to easy, correct performance of ordinary bodily movements in walking, running and jumping with their variations, and more complicated stunts that have a historical significance as folk amusements. A third is based upon rhythms either as free, interpretive dancing similar to Dalcroze eurhythmics or as traditional folk games accompanied by music and songs. Most instructors give their classes some work in each of these phases of physical education. There is no longer any adherence to a single highly organized system.

Apparatus work has been lessened or altogether discontinued. Most school gymnasiums are inadequate for the amount of gymnastic work now required of all classes. The new group of educators maintains that half the value of physical exercise depends upon its being taken out of doors. They claim that the stuffy, dusty air of indoor gymnasiums almost nullifies the benefits sought from the exercise. Space encourages free, vigorous movement; the out-of-doors releases children's natural exuberance; the fresh air stimulates deep breathing and the direct sunlight works wonders in building vitality. Even on cool, misty days many schools send their classes out into the courtyard or onto the athletic field for the long gym periods. Shower baths are still rare but a brisk rub and a change of clothing train the pupils in proper care of their bodies after physical exercise.

Athletic clothing of the simplest, lightest sort is worn by both boys and girls. Interest in the strength and beauty of a well-devel-

oped human body has overthrown false standards of propriety. Gymnasium suits are designed to give the greatest freedom of movement and a considerable amount of exposure to the sun's rays. Esthetic effects are also considered by schools where the pupils can afford special costumes that are often very attractive in color and design.

Several schools have a walled enclosure where the pupils may take sun and air baths. Modern physicians are stressing the importance of direct sunlight because of the beneficial action of the ultraviolet rays upon the human system. Since Germany lies in a region where cloudy weather prevails the people actually hunger for the warmth of the sun, and they do well to use every opportunity for building up the health of their children by letting them play unclad in the sunshine whenever it comes. At the park wading pools open to children up to ten years bathing suits are seldom seen and most little children play in the water or on the shore entirely unclothed. Short trunks are the customary bathing suits for boys and men on any beach so that the whole body becomes sun-browned and the general health is benefited accordingly. Women's bathing suits have become more abbreviated than they are in America.

Conspicuous changes have taken place in recreational pursuits at the German universities. Formerly the students spent their leisure in beer gardens and their most strenuous exercise was duelling which formed part of the initiation ceremony for fraternities. A sword-slash upon the cheek was sought by all the young men as a mark of social prestige. Duelling is now banned by law and public disapproval but it has not altogether disappeared and university students may yet be seen occasionally wearing their black head bandages with great pride. At present two years of physical training are required of every man and woman in the university. There are track teams, football teams, rowing crews, polo and tennis teams as well as many forms of gymnastics and dancing. Each year the national university athletic meets grow more important. From the ranks of the students in Germany's universities have come some of her outstanding athletes. As one comes down the Neckar to Heidelberg on a fine day that little stream is aswarm with canoes, small sailing craft and swimmers. In all university towns the students have taken to outdoor life and sports with keen zest.

The thing of chief importance about the physical education pro-

gram of all German schools to-day is that they are making sport and recreation genuinely liked by boys and girls and popular with older people. The old gymnastic drills made many children hate the thought of physical exercise and this same distaste was doubled when the boys grew up and had to go through the routine of military training. Both of these experiences educated them *away from* physical recreation while the new movement is so much in accord with the spirit of childhood and youth that the benefits are increased tenfold. The gain physical training has made in all the schools is symptomatic of the importance it has acquired in national life and is a guarantee that participation in sports will become a lifetime habit and necessity to many German people.

In 1914 there were less than a million members of sports clubs. To-day their membership is well beyond eight million. The number of people belonging to athletic organizations has increased over five times in the last ten years. No one knows how many people go on walking trips, for that is an unorganized recreation. In Saxony in 1926 more than two million lodgings were taken by foot-travelers in the hostels of that province, which has a population of only six million. The amount of space devoted to athletic fields has doubled. When new schools are built they are placed near parks that have large playgrounds equipped for various sports, so that the pupils can make full use of the city's recreational facilities during school hours while the general public is at work. Evening finds the same athletic fields used to capacity by young working people.

Every social caste and political party, from the conservative to the communist, devotes much time and attention to the athletic and sport phases of its organization. Both proletarian and monarchist leaders insist that the athletic field is the best recruiting and training ground for their young members. Mass sports are widely employed by the communist groups to develop a collective spirit. Religious groups also make recreation a large part of their program. Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and non-sectarian organizations vie for control of the children's free time. Partisan groups have learned that youth can be captured on the athletic field for a political party or religious organization. This is an unfortunate phase of the whole sports movement in Germany. Outside the schools boys and girls seldom play together as comrades and Germans, but they play as Catholic Germans, Protestant Germans, Jewish Germans or Free-

thinking Germans. Here one sees the cleavages which correspond to those in the Youth Movement.

There are much deeper causes for the sports mania in Germany than the desire of partisan organizations to secure recruits. That is merely an incidental factor. Throughout the world, recent years have brought a great increase in enthusiasm for all sports both amateur and professional, and post-war Germany was peculiarly susceptible to any idea that promised her people physical rehabilitation. She was driven to an extreme that forced her to take an inventory of her national capital and her first task was to restore the human resources of the country.

The poor physical stamina of German children who had suffered under war hardships was the chief cause that brought about the adoption of a comprehensive program for physical education in the schools. Hunger, nervous strain and poor housing conditions had left their mark on thousands of boys and girls. Health had to be rebuilt before the schools could carry on their work effectively. In the plan for health education, play and sports were very important, and they continue to hold their preëminence even though most of the children of this day are coming back to their normal physical standard rapidly. There are still hundreds of cases of permanent retardation or defect that have to be given special exercise and diet, but the mass of school enrollments have gained well under the improved physical régime sponsored by the schools, and the unusual opportunities for recreation are producing some splendid specimens of the Teutonic race.

The abolition of compulsory military training is another reason for Germany's sudden development of athletics. Some of her enemies charge that the new physical education program is merely a subterfuge behind which military preparation is being made. There does not seem to be the slightest ground for this suspicion. On the contrary there are probably few countries in the world where there is so little interest in military training as in Germany now. The mass of the population is glad to be freed from the tax burden required to maintain a large army and navy, and the men are glad to be relieved from a system of military service that was particularly odious and which deprived them of an important fraction of their lives.

One may doubt that German educators are consciously promoting physical education in order to train a new army and yet recall the

famous saying that "the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton." There may be truth in the idea that England produced good soldiers because her boys learned "to play the game" so well at school. Certainly the Yankee soldiers in the World War were none the worse for their years of play with the gang or with high school and college teams. Even military men in Germany concede that their defeat may have been due to lack of *esprit de corps*, a human asset useful in war, which they had not cultivated in the same way as had their opponents in the English and American forces who were devotees of sport. Perhaps the test need never come again on the field of battle but it is coming many times on the athletic field, and there will be many a sharp fight for Olympic laurels if German athletes continue to make the record gains they have achieved in the last few years.

In 1912 the Germans made only one point in the Olympic games. In 1913 they employed a special coach for their 1916 Olympic team, but owing to the outbreak of the war the Germans in all countries had to default this event. They returned to the Olympics for the first time in 1928. At Amsterdam they stood well among the nations of the world in track and field events. There are more than 500,000 boys and girls in Germany being trained for athletic contests and a selected group is brought each year to centers for intensive training. Every summer there is a national sports carnival definitely looked upon as a preparatory step to the Olympic games. There has been a veritable migration of German athletes to the United States in order to study American methods of training and to participate in sporting events so that they might better prepare themselves for international competition.

The sports movement, like every other social change in post-war Germany, is not a specialized and isolated activity, but it has many points of connection with other new movements and with all the principal institutions of the country. Schools, churches and political parties are doing all they can to promote outdoor life. State and city governments subsidize recreation by creating new play facilities. A dozen avenues of reform lead directly to the same goal as the physical education program. The Youth Movement, the chain of hostels, the school *Landheime*, prohibition societies, welfare organizations, parents' councils, nature cults, medical associations, travel bureaus and resort agents, are each adding their bit to the wide-

spread propaganda for health and recreation. Such unity of purpose and convergence of interests are indicative of the genuine revolution in thought and habit that has shaken the German people out of the old grooves of custom and turned them toward a way of life more in accord with the instincts of the race. They have always been vigorous in physique and romantic lovers of nature. The sports movement is just one evidence of the revival of deeply rooted tendencies that have been repressed for a time. Now individuals and groups enjoying outdoor life and recreation receive the popular approval formerly denied them. Older people and young laborers are playing vigorously to-day because they were denied the opportunity earlier. There are many persons who feel that the craze for athletics is being carried to an extreme and a slight reaction may come, but at present the sports movement is still gaining in strength and its values are generally recognized as of more importance than a few possible dangers.

Just now many Germans are inclined to take their sports a little too seriously. The victory of a German champion in a foreign country assumes an importance of national scope and becomes an occasion in which it is the patriotic duty of every fellow countryman to rejoice. The time may come when more of them will realize that a track meet is merely a game and that it is not a national calamity when their half-mile champion loses a foot race. This will not happen, however, until the German nation has tasted the wine of victory at the Olympics. After they have been victors there as often as the Americans they will find out that winning does not make much difference, and that, in the last analysis, the real value of physical education comes from the better health built up by millions who never qualify for international competitions.

Germany, however, seems in no real danger of a one-sided development of her sports program. The many different points of view on the purpose of recreation guarantee a certain amount of balance. To many young people who wish to exchange the bustle of the city for the peace of the country, sports are a return to nature. To others enthusiasm for recreation is an incentive to the revival of old folk games and dances of the Middle Ages. For still others, sports have a very modern significance. They mean world's records, strict training, money. Germans with this point of view might well be classed as followers of the American spirit in sport. Most edu-

cators and physical directors there, as here, are strongly opposed to this phase of recreation. Leaders in the German movement are trying to minimize competition and to treat record feats lightly in order that group achievement and average gain in strength may seem of the utmost importance, thereby prohibiting the advent of an athletic aristocracy. In short, Germany is seeking social democracy in sports as well as in government.

CHAPTER VII

Art and the Creative Spirit

"Art expression must grow unconstrained out of the experiences of human life."—JÖDE

CHANGES in the German schools have not been made altogether because of social revolution, administrative policy or new pedagogical theories. A powerful stream of influence has come from the world of art, affecting the Hamburg schools particularly, but having only slightly lesser effects upon education all over Germany. The arts approach social and educational problems from an angle quite different from that of objective science or practical pedagogy. The rôle art has played in German school reforms is great in its own right and tenfold greater because its tendencies coincided so exactly with those of several contemporaneous movements that the reënforcement each gave the other carried the day for reform impulses.

The arts ally themselves readily with romantic movements that stress freedom and individualism. The philosophy of esthetics values subjectivity with its expression through intuitive channels and is skeptical of the systematic procedure of logical science. Artists treasure ideals without regard for their utility. Their sympathetic response to human needs makes them characteristically the champions of the lower classes. Their equally quick response to the world of nature gives them complete understanding for pantheism. They live in a sense of oneness with all creation that makes them responsive to the individual and respectful of his rights. The social service they offer may be highly impractical, because it seeks to feed the soul and often forgets the body, but it does recognize the existence of hungers that cannot be stilled by material welfare. The principles of unity, growth, experience and humanity, are basic in the philosophy of esthetics. Nothing indicates more clearly the essential character of the German school reform than this—that to an amazing extent its spirit is that of the arts and its methods those of the artist.

The leader and spokesman of the art movement was Alfred

Lichtwark, a man whose life-work began simply as an elementary teacher in Hamburg, but a slight incident gave a new direction to his unusual powers and he became director of the art gallery in that city when he was barely thirty years of age. He often told how his youthful eyes were opened to the meanings of things about him by a chance meeting with a cultivated Norwegian in the Church of Mary in Lübeck. Lichtwark observed with astonishment the respect this alien showed for the monuments of Lübeck's golden age, and he wondered even more at the exact knowledge a foreigner had gathered on the events of their past. It was startling to him that a stranger knew and loved the relics of Hanseatic glory while he, a son of the region, had only looked up carelessly when the bells rang from the old towers. As Lichtwark's soul was awakened to the beauty around him his will was roused to bring the same rich experiences to others.

The trend of his own later development gives a key to his philosophy of art and education. *Schulrat* Götze, who was active in the founding of the Hamburg Community Schools, characterized Lichtwark thus: "The most vital trait of his personality was his ability to look at things about him and to learn from them, to grasp them with his own understanding and to let his imagination grow through them."

Another sidelight comes from Lichtwark's own pen as he was describing one of his forerunners in museum work, Brinckman, whom he greatly admired and whose personal evolution was so similar to his own that the description fits one man as well as the other. "His development seemed to overleap the usual necessary stages. People asked, 'Where did he learn that?' He did not 'learn' it at all, but he developed his own powers. A new expression is needed to fit his type. He could not learn by becoming a crammed storehouse, as do so many scholarly natures of the barren sort, but his wisdom grew by acquiring the material he needed as if it were nourishing food and transforming it into the flesh and blood of his own being."

Again and again in Lichtwark's theories of education, one may trace these ideas, that learning need not follow a uniform sequence of steps and that growth consists in the unfolding of powers from within, as well as in the accumulation of information from without. This principle of development is always accompanied by an explana-

tion of the way in which the outside world feeds the soul, as the individual opens his mind and heart to the things about him and lets their influences work upon him. In other words, he is to take up abundant materials for growth through varied experiences and to assimilate them to his own needs for the better exercise of his own creative power.

Lichtwark illustrates his unbounded belief in the educative power of "things experienced" by this story of Germany's greatest philosopher-poet. "A youth, coming to Goethe with a letter of introduction, naïvely asked him, 'How did you begin to write in such a beautiful style?' Goethe did not treat the query as ridiculous, but gave the lad an answer which summarized his own life experiences and the deepest source of his power as he said, 'I let things work upon me.' "

This is a significant phrase worthy of more than passing notice at a time when the balance of educational theory might very well be disturbed by overemphasis on the principle of activity in its objective sense. Conceivably an individual may be so continually and zealously active that he never "lets things work upon him." According to this interpretation, educational activity must not be thought of as "active" in the obvious sense only. Educative activity may be going on just as truly in the youth who lies on a green hill in the spring sunlight lost in daydreams, as in the pupil busy with his school tasks. It is a fallacy to confuse "busy-ness" with educative activity. Lichtwark was the champion of "passive activity," if a paradox may be allowed to express the meaning sought. He believed in the educational necessity of a passive state of mind at times, because he saw education from the standpoint of the artist who knows that the cycle of receptivity, assimilation and creation is fixed by an almost immutable law.

Lichtwark's train of thinking was needed in Germany to counteract mechanistic theories and to clarify ideals vaguely presented by others who felt the need for giving an outlet to the natural powers of childhood and youth, but who had not formulated their reasons or purposes. Although his words, spoken at the opening of the twentieth century, were primarily for the art world, they soon found hearty acclaim among educational reformers, because the time was ripe for change. The Conferences on Art Education held at Dresden in 1901 and at Weimar the following year brought together edu-

cators and artists whose discussions bore fruit. Their concern with education was not restricted to "art in the schools." "Many would have preferred the name German Educational Conference. It was only an accident that the immediate stimulus came from the world of art. The time for a conference on education had come after long preparation and there was needed only a call to bring many scattered forces together for the common purpose of discussing art and education."

As the movement developed, it was evident that this group of reformers wished to see a free, creative spirit penetrate all phases of school life. "The first Art Education Conference treated of the graphic and plastic arts. The second is dedicated to our language and literature. The third will be concerned with music and physical education. Since each conference can give attention to only one phase of school work it is advisable to point out frequently that each is concerned with the whole of the school. It is not our purpose to burden the school with new subjects when it almost collapses already under the burden of subject matter, but it is our aim to consider a new principle of instruction, not for this or that separate subject, but one which is valid for the whole of education. . . . In reality, art education is only one province in the great realm of the complete education of our people, for which we are in duty bound to seek new principles and further new developments. The demand for art education is not an isolated phenomenon, but from the very beginning it is inseparably bound up with the clearly formulated demand for a moral renewal of our national life. Both movements became articulate simultaneously about the middle of the eighties and the two tendencies cannot be separated." Lichtwark welcomed evidences of unrest, for he felt that satisfaction and content with the existing social order were signs of fossilization. "The school is in a continual state of revolution. That is merely a proof of its vital force."

With keen insight, the group gathered about him first examined the function of the school in society and pointed out that the intrinsic purpose of education and of the school as an institution must be ever kept in view, because of a common tendency to lose sight of the real needs of life. "All lasting institutions which the race of man contrives for the service of life tend to become ends in themselves in the course of time. The original aim for which each was created drops into oblivion, for the men who were entrusted with executing

that purpose form themselves into a clique which becomes specialized and, in maintaining its own rights, this group may stand in opposition to the mass of humanity and, finally, when its power has grown, the managing group changes from servants into rulers. . . . Even the school is subject to this oppressive law. Truly not in theory, which promenades with the motto, 'Not for the school, but for life,' but in actual practice, which is so inclined to reverse these phrases."

The Art Education Conference leveled its first specific criticism at the neglect of native culture in the schools. "Our education to-day lacks a firm national basis. Even if pedagogical theory demands it and the curriculum asserts that there is a definite national aim, yet the work of our intellectual class gives proof that a really vital communion with the ideals of leading spirits in German politics, literature, art and science, does not exist, or only in the case of music, which is cultivated outside the school in an excellent amateurish fashion. . . . The educated German of to-day obtains just as much stimulation and pleasure from English and French literature as from that of his own land."

"The inadequate national content of our school curricula brings the very deplorable consequence that learning becomes a matter of caste in Germany. He who has acquired a classical education, even in the inadequate fashion in which the present day *Gymnasium* transmits it, believes himself to be a superior creature and looks down condescendingly on the man who has learned only three modern languages. Whoever knows French as well as German feels himself lifted well above the man who has studied German only, be the latter ever so highly cultured. . . . In our intellectual circles everything native counts as second rate. . . . Consequently, if we wish to develop folk spirit we must demand of education that it awake in all circles love and appreciation of our own language, literature and art."

Turning to the internal organization of the schools, these critics found that "the teaching profession is sharply divided according to the usual German fashion. Elementary and secondary teachers stand apart from one another as irreconcilable opposites, just as secondary teachers feel themselves in opposition to university professors. In Germany, where society is separated into distinct castes regarding one another with distrust, it is difficult to reach the point where men

count as human beings. . . . The position, not the man, counts with us. . . . Under such circumstances, a comparatively new profession, like that of teaching, is liable to suffer. . . . The older professions have acquired external power and inherited respect but the new do not possess such capital. According to German custom, which has remained medieval, the older castes withhold equal rights from every new one. Many characteristics of the teacher at present spring from this situation. . . . To-day a teacher is generally an embittered rather than a happy man. A gay or jovial teacher in a caricature would not be considered typical. . . . We cannot be indifferent to the state of mind of the teacher, especially when it depends upon him alone whether the school of the twentieth century shall continue to be a burden in pupils' lives, or whether it shall be loved by the children and the parents who send their offspring thither . . .

"All school reforms stand or fall with the teacher. The best curriculum cannot give him wings; the worst cannot restrict him altogether. The kernel of his success lies in the vital force which he develops in his pupils." Thus Lichtwark voiced his plea for professional equality and a release of the creative power of the individual teacher who had been stifled by officialdom. He gave new scope to professional tasks by raising the work of the teacher to the dignity of an art.

"Teachers cannot learn how to attain the new goals by rules and methods. To instruct and to educate are arts. The teacher should have an artist's personality and all teachers whom we recall with delight from our own childhood have been such types. The teaching profession requires a special gift. One who does not feel this in himself should not choose to teach, for he would make his pupils and himself unhappy. . . . The unity of art education especially depends upon the personality of the teacher. Whatever he wishes to cultivate in the pupil must first have found life and form in himself. One may prepare for instruction day by day but not for the exercise of educative influence. We cannot sufficiently stress the point that, in all kinds of art education, only harm can result from good intentions which take no account of ability and go hastily to work on the basis of rapid 'preparation.' All school reforms should begin with the selection and education of teachers. Only when we look upon the teacher as an artist will the evils vanish which to-day make

us distrust the school. Only the teacher can save the school and to him must be given the position and respect which he deserves."

It is little wonder that teachers in progressive German schools honor Lichtwark as a man who helped free them for independent work with their classes. Many of the men in Hamburg's radical schools came under his influence during the years before the war when he was conducting groups through the museum or lecturing on the arts and education. A few had been inspired by him to undertake with their own classes some creative work in music, drawing, dramatics, composition or eurhythmics. All of them had heard of the teachers' conferences he had helped organize in order to foster a creative spirit in the schools and to work against the conditions he criticized as violations of natural unity and human rights.

He had said: "Each school subject is, as it were, surrounded by a high wall, behind which it is treated as if it were alone upon the earth. It is taught as if the pupils were there for the sake of the different subjects of instruction, or as if the human mind were divided by nature into compartments which corresponded to the separate fields of knowledge. . . . The highest thing is not learning and not subject matter, but the human soul!"

Anxiety as to the effect traditional pedagogy and school methods would have upon art when it became a subject of instruction in the schools had first caused the group of artists and educators gathered around Lichtwark to examine the trend of school practice with special concern. "Moderate and optimistic men of mature understanding think regretfully that art, the only field on which the school has not yet laid its hand, has now been turned over to it. They fear that here also the school will kill all germs of life. Has not the school's treatment of religion resulted in extinguishing feeling and desire for religion and thereby educated an irreligious generation? Is it not chiefly the fault of the 'schoolish' type of instruction in literature that the masses avoid our great writers? Is it not worthy of note that the German people do not sing their old folk songs any more after they have learned them by school methods? Certainly our type of gymnastic instruction is partially responsible for the widespread distaste for physical exercise. Now in the same way they want to rob the child and the coming generations of their free joy in art.

"The source of error in our school affairs is this: the school be-

gins with subject matter and remains bound to subject matter. It should begin with natural powers and develop them. Then it could include much more subject matter than it does at present and the pupils would master more, almost in the spirit of play. Because the school is hypnotized by facts it aims at correctness, but it should aim at value or quality, which is the highest goal and includes as much mechanical accuracy as necessary, for much of the latter can be dispensed with. The school has satiated its pupils with this exclusive emphasis on subject matter. It should make them hungry."

Following these principles, the successive conferences on art, language, music and physical education set forth certain suggestions for encouraging genuine creative work in these subjects. "Art education is not to be thought of as an external ornament for festive occasions but as the development of artistic tendencies affecting life. . . . The creative power of which we continually speak includes those artistic forces which should give form to life and without whose development and influence our language, decorations, tools, furnishings and manner of living, our productivity and enjoyment, take inferior forms, and our very existence remains on the vegetable plane even in the midst of material abundance. There has never been any doubt as to the significance of art in theory, but we have just begun to understand it as a new educational ferment essential to the life of our people.

"In the center of art education we place drawing. We do not conceive of it as a means to training in order, neatness and mechanical accuracy as heretofore, but as the development of powers of comprehension and expression. . . . The basis for every healthy and strengthening pleasure in art is determined by the receptive capacity of the individual. Only if his own abilities have been subjected to the highest development of which they are capable does a work of art have a vital and uplifting influence on him. We say this for the benefit of those who express the fear that we want to make art just one more means of pleasure among so many others. When art serves a weakened race as a mere means to charm and divert it is a debilitating influence, and whoever adds to the already too great taste our generation shows for taking life easy and enjoying its pleasures in comfort commits a crime. We are deadly enemies to the popularization of art. Raise the minds and souls of the people but do not drag art down to their level.

"In language we want to see the fuller growth of those artistic impulses which produced such lovely bits of prattle while the child was still at home. Because of the paralyzing effect of premature instruction in grammar and merciless rules for spelling these early expressive impulses usually perish quickly. It is better to speak and write ungrammatically and well than according to all the rules of grammar but without any intrinsic quality of expression, and spelling is an idol to which untold sacrifices have been made. We do not want to forget that ringing, poetic expression did not wait until man attained a high state of civilization but it lies in our possession from the time speech begins. With insistence on mechanical correctness in spelling and grammar the school drives out of us our own free joy in language. The majority of people retain real pleasure only in the dialect. Even he who has gone through the school senses the vital quality of expression in a dialect and enjoys it. We must see to it that the school does not hinder us any longer from using the literary language with as much satisfaction as we have heretofore found in dialects.

"In physical education we are content neither with the German nor the English systems. Both lack the esthetic element entirely. Our gymnastics tends to stiffen into the most barren and abstract drill which can be made attractive only through the most expert teaching skill. The sports and games of the English are more human and have increasingly drawn interest away from our type of gymnastics, but they, too, are primarily concerned with health and skill. Only a new form of physical education can protect us from the dangers and one-sidedness of both systems, from their brute force and competitive spirit. The new form shall be based upon the development of expression and, united with music, shall have a predominant esthetic quality. Therefore, we place the dance at the center of a new type of physical education. We want dances of the sort that have been forgotten since the beginning of the nineteenth century. There is no doubt that singing in harmony with the dance can enhance the purpose of self-expression."

By way of summary Lichtwark stated forcefully that education is and must remain a continuous process. "In us has been roused a hope that the school will grow organically out of the life of the child and into later life, that it will not interrupt the natural course of development as heretofore like an extraneous wedge. The school

can fulfill its real purpose if it provides for the growth of natural powers. Only creative power can give mastery over life and knowledge is useful only when it is placed in the service of the creative spirit."

Those who are inclined to accept the war and its outcomes as an easy and sufficient explanation of succeeding German school reforms, have only to turn to the writings of Lichtwark, the spokesman of his group in 1905, and read there a statement of the philosophy which found its practical realization in some of the new schools of the republic two decades later. The combined theories of natural development and education through inner experiences are fundamental in the experimental and socialized schools of Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin and many other German cities. All of them recognize Lichtwark's influence and honor his memory. As a special mark of homage to commemorate the ideals of his life, one German secondary school which made a radical break with tradition and sought to carry the principles he advocated beyond the elementary grades has been dedicated to him. The social spirit of the Lichtwark School, its encouragement of creative work in many forms and its splendid new home on the border of Hamburg's beautiful city park, form an enduring monument to this man who was a school teacher for only a short time, but who always remained a teacher in the truest sense of that word as he made his museum a place where old and young from all classes of society loved to learn.

German artists and educators had long protested against the overrational and overintellectual training given by the schools. They saw classicism as a shadow that blotted out all possibility of fresh thought and they feared the growing interest in practical subjects as a menace to esthetic development. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century they had made little headway against the traditional practice of teaching art as systematically and coldly as one taught the multiplication tables. Self-expression and appreciation were killed rather than fostered in most schools by the didactic method used in art, music and literature. Mass education had no place for the delicate subtleties that make or mar the esthetic life of the individual child. Freedom in expression was little exercised and individuality was repressed by the prevailing system. Only those who escaped from the schools or, suffering under its dull routine,

still retained some vestige of creative power, were able to keep alive a cultural tradition that had some worth for the nation.

The German dogma of academic thoroughness and exactitude, the habit of systematic research and substantiation of data, have been somewhat inimical to independent thought and artistic creation. Originality in the arts was generally distrusted and only work that disclosed its classical prototype was acceptable to critics, who had become pedigree hunters and not connoisseurs of original, vigorous work. The concept of art as expressing the subjective state of an individual had little recognition. Intuition was looked upon as a lazy servant and an erring guide. Technical proficiency became more important than the idea to be expressed, and logical treatment that spoke clearly to the casual observer was preferred to obscure effects that required the interpretation of the artist.

But these standards in the fine arts fell before the growth of impressionism and esthetic experiments of all sorts. Germany resisted a movement that became strong first in France and Spain, but she capitulated with such completeness at last, that she has gone to the greatest extreme in modern works of art by the expressionist group which was so free from tradition and so wholly subjective that some of their productions appear bizarre and decadent. This is true of only a marginal group of radicals, however, for the natural vigor of Teutonic art has responded to the sharp experiences of the past two decades in ways that promise a new and interesting creative era in German music, painting, drama, sculpture and architecture.

This change in national art standards has had parallel consequences in the schools. An art lesson is no longer a period for learning forms and skills at the master's dictation, but it is a time for joyously releasing ideas that press for expression through media that the pupil may choose and by methods that he devises. The teacher gives instruction as needed with words of approval and suggestion that help the esthetic interests and intuitions of children grow. Instead of narrowing the work of the schoolboy to set subjects and techniques, art instruction now becomes the means of widening his horizon.

Experience is looked upon as the most effective means of teaching art, even though it is an indirect method beginning in receptivity, rather than instruction or self-expression. No longer does the drawing master place a stuffed bird before his class and watch pupils

labor to make curves and shadows look real, but he takes them out into the forest and lets them watch living birds, whistle their calls and spy out their nests among the branches. Then if some child comes back to the classroom and starts to draw a bird of his own accord, well and good. The master will give all the help that is asked, but he will not insist on a bird of the same form and coloring as those they have seen, nor will he force all the other members of the group to draw birds likewise.

An abundant store of experiences gathered on short excursions or long trips to the *Landheime* have so stimulated the impulse to graphic expression that the notebooks of German school children are filled with sketches that often tell the story of the journey or the whole school year. But the real art teacher does not stop with these simple efforts at representation, valuable though they are for individual self-expression, for group projects and for the development of art techniques. Many teachers go farther away from realism and approach impressionism in their efforts to deepen and refine the esthetic powers of their pupils. Color and line and form become things to play with, to feed the imagination and to develop sensitivity. Bold sweeps of vivid paint are thrown across a page for the sheer delight of watching tones strike against one another and take accidental shapes. Out of this play may come design and color theory or inspiration for a fanciful painting. But the immediate result does not matter. The teacher has faith to believe that the experience is valuable in itself and he does not attempt to check up results directly. There have been many experiments with music as a stimulus to free expression in line and color. Again the object is not to produce any particular kind of painting as an interpretation of sounds heard, but it is to heighten sense impressions so that they will not remain in the simplest stage of development but may enrich daily living and individual personality. Abstract emotions are occasionally dealt with in much the same way as musical themes, when pupils express their conception of fear or joy in rhythmic swirls of color that symbolize to those who produce them such emotional experiences.

Art in the German schools is being highly developed without becoming overspecialized. That is, much of the art work in the lower grades is freed from direct control of the art teacher. In many elementary schools there is no teacher particularly trained in art,

and there is practically never a special art supervisor for the schools of a city. While this independence leads to great irregularity in art work, yet it also safeguards the initiative of teachers and pupils and it makes possible greater unification of all subjects. If art is to retain some spontaneity, it cannot well be confined to certain hours on the weekly schedule of a special teacher making the rounds of many classes and knowing her pupils very slightly. Nor is it safe to take it out of the province of the teacher who handles other subjects and who wishes to integrate the work of his group around large centers of interest. Pupils may make less technical advance with the room teacher as their only art master, but they will be given more opportunities for expression and a freer hand in experimenting with art media than if their creative work is too closely directed.

On the other hand, some educators think there is less danger of arrested development if a sympathetic and skillful art master is available at times to give encouragement and words of advice that will help pupils over their difficulties to the next stage of achievement. The secondary schools and upper elementary classes provide for this by scheduling one to three hours weekly for art lessons, and a good art teacher accomplishes much even in these infrequent contacts with his pupils.

The special art teacher often makes an effort to become personally acquainted with his pupils and to connect his work with that of the home classroom by accompanying the group on excursions or otherwise sharing their interests. He does not, however, permit the art department to be called upon continually for service to some other subject of the curriculum, because, as he sees it, the connection with more highly rationalized subject matter is dangerous to the intuitive elements inherent in creative work. Besides, the request made for the application of art to projects arising in history or literature are likely to come from the room teachers and not from the pupils. If subject matter dealt with in another class stimulates the pupils to try some form of related art work, so much the better. Then the project has all the virtues of an original idea, but if it is suggested by one teacher to be directed by another teacher, there is every chance that the pupil will give only half-hearted effort to the undertaking unless he is unusually conscientious and self-effacing, and those virtues are not conducive to the best creative work.

The time reserved for art is none too generous at best, and most

pupils need every bit of it for their own creations once they are awake to their powers and familiar with the possibilities of materials. Art has its own unique justification in the school curriculum. It should not be prostituted to the needs of other subjects lest some of its essential values be lost. If teachers of the other subjects feel that art work can make a genuine contribution to their work, they should be willing to give a part of their regular time to the artistic activities required for the fuller development of a unit of study and, if the work is halfway good, they will be recompensed both by the new angle given to the subject and the broader development of their pupils. The ideal of the German art teacher seems to be that other subjects should enrich the child's background and stimulate him to spontaneous expression in art forms that are fine in content and meaningful in their connection with his life as a whole.

From another man in Hamburg and another field of art came a pre-war influence toward educational reform, which has spread throughout German speaking countries. Fritz Jöde, writing on "Music and Education" in 1914, set forth a view of life and the school that showed his kinship to the Monists in philosophy, his acceptance of *Gestalt* psychology, his approval of the educational principles of activity, integration and socialization, his sympathy for intelligent dilettantism, his enthusiasm for creative expression and his faith in the humanitarian ideals that the Youth Movement was then bringing to the German people.

Jöde first tested his theories while teaching in a Community School and he now defends them from a professorial chair in the National Institute for Music Teachers. In spite of the fact that he is a distinguished specialist, his main thesis is not musical education, but natural growth and social unity. "Nothing at all can be *made* to happen. Everything must develop from its own force. The only thing that we can do is to prepare the ground upon which something can grow."

Furthermore, "the school will be vulnerable, so long as it does not possess a unified principle at the root of its being. That is why I battle with all my strength against the thought that intellectual life, or life in any sense, is merely a sum of separate entities. The isolated calculations, which science has made in unawareness of the consequences, have led to a mistaken way of life. Man is a unity. If understanding of that is lost, it means a tremendous step back-

ward. Unity has been realized in the past both in the golden age of Greece and in medieval Germany. In the Youth Movement we, too, have experienced deeply this inner unity of individuals and of all mankind.

"Therefore, we will have nothing to do with any art as a special subject. If the desire for music does not spring from the desire for spiritual unity with mankind, then it does not interest us at all. Art for us is not a great collection of skills, knowledges and emotions, but it is the expression of one's own ego in its noblest form.

"We do not believe that one can change musical standards without changing human beings. To be sure, we can put a new method into musical education, but then we must not forget that only the dress is changed. What good is it if we discard the old type of musical training and adopt something new, merely because that was burdensome and this seems pleasant, if we do not realize that education in music cannot be separated from the education of the whole man? So it is that we are concerned first with the inner conversion of men and not with changes in subject matter. Therefore, we know that we need not look to circumstances so much as to ourselves alone.

"This approach to art cannot be demanded from the outside, any more than one can say to a man, 'Be creative!' It must grow from within. This inner growth in man toward his own human kind is the essential thing. Art expression must grow, unconstrained, out of the experiences of human life."

"We, who bear within ourselves the impress of the Youth Movement, have had a new musical experience and we are on the way to a new musical culture. We began with the folk song. To be sure, the older generation had busied itself with that earnestly enough. But all the laborious work of the specialists, which consisted in attempted regeneration of school and choir music, was useless.

"Then came the *Wandervögel* and, without troubling themselves about music, they set up a new type of man and with him appeared a new folk song, unsought, but naturally developed. Once again real folk music. Because a small, sympathetic group had been formed again in place of the crowd and the mass, men and music could actually grow together again. Our singing became a part of ourselves. There grew up among us a joy in singing, which no school, no club,

no choir, had been able to produce until that moment. That gives food for thought. We did not reach this goal by way of new methods in music, but by way of new men.

"However, we must not forget that the folk song means only a half step toward music, and we cannot pause here without losing our balance, as many of the vacuous wanderers' songs of the day already show. We are on the way toward music, but in spite of the new spirit, which seeks to express itself in song, we have not yet found music in the real sense."

To avoid any misinterpretation of his theory that music should grow out of life itself, and to strike at some old abuses of the art, Jöde criticizes severely the use of music as a means to an end. He objects to its service as a stimulating accompaniment to social intercourse. He ridicules the type of musical analysis which searches for literal representation of the composer's moods and experiences or of other scenes and events. He regards all these as externals, as dead and stultifying to the real spirit of music as is concern with techniques only. For Jöde the soul of art is to be found only in its own language.

"We can understand and experience music by musical standards alone and in ways which are worked out by music itself. We must feel music as a law of mind in us and above us. The basis of all mental activity is creation. Therefore, we must betake ourselves to the realm of music and not let it pass over us any longer, but we must enter into it with our own creative powers in order to experience music fully in its noblest forms." Thus Jöde builds a philosophy of music that is both social and esthetic. His words have aroused many educators already sensitive to the values of music through personal experience.

Changes in the teaching of music in the German schools have been less pronounced than those in the graphic arts, for singing was never overshadowed with formality to the same degree as drawing. The training of every elementary school teacher in Germany was supposed to include violin and chorus lessons so that each might lead singing in his own class. As most children brought from home a store of folk songs and a well-developed musical sense the teaching of music cost little effort. Actual singing took first place in the classroom and the study of musical notation was thereby made easier, for the pupils' sense of rhythm and melody had already been unfolded

through varied musical experiences before they attempted to master the mechanics of music in a rational way. A natural sense of harmony was cultivated by early and frequent singing of part songs and by later development of fundamental principles. Undoubtedly there were many instances where impatient, inartistic teachers killed the children's joy in music by presenting it mechanically, but usually, even in the most rigid schools, the singing period was a time when schoolmaster and pupils alike seemed to unbend and become natural in their common enjoyment of songs. Composing of original melodies and verses was not unknown in the old days, because the technical equipment of the teachers enabled them to record variations or new themes suggested.

Nowadays, it is not unusual to find work in creative music even in the rural schools, although no particular stress is laid upon original composition, since the abundant store of folk songs and classic melodies already seems to provide music for every need. There is even more singing than there used to be, for no elementary class waits until the regular music period if they feel like bursting into song as they work. They sing in their own room at any time of the day and usually without an accompaniment. Pianos are rare but the teacher or a pupil may get out a violin. On the playground many children voluntarily form groups for singing games. Whenever a class is making a trip afoot, by boat or by train, they sing old marching songs or popular *Wandervögel* airs. School orchestras flourish particularly in secondary schools. Many elementary schools find ways of buying instruments for talented children and some of the Community Schools have orchestras made up of parents, teachers and pupils.

Music has had a marked influence on physical education. Singing games and folk dances are more commonly used in gymnasium periods indoors and out. Costumed dance groups add color and beauty to many athletic meets. Several cities hold weekly folk dance festivals in the parks. On late summer afternoons one can find children, youths and adults dancing together on the greensward under great trees. The line between dancers and onlookers is indistinguishable, for individuals from the audience are constantly being drawn into the dancing groups and dancers drop out now and then to rest and watch with the crowd.

Natural dancing, euryhthmics or the interpretation of music by

bodily movements play a large part in the life of art colonies and nature cults. The anthroposophists give rhythm a prominent place in their educational scheme. The Duncan dancers and the Hellerau group left Germany for new homes in Austria, but their influence continues to inspire followers who remain. Although Geneva remains the center of the Dalcroze school, there are several exponents of that method actively at work in Germany developing musical ability through inter-related study of the voice, the piano and the dance. One of the Dalcroze teachers was conducting an intensive summer course for young men and women near Jena in the delightful setting of a hill-top castle owned by the *Jugendherberge* Association. A group of Swedish and German students lived there in communal fashion, sharing responsibility for their household needs, singing, tramping and swimming in the morning hours, dancing in the knights' hall in the late afternoon and singing again around the great open fire at night.

Even in schools where teachers have had little training in esthetic dancing, there are to be seen simple and lovely interpretations of rhythm by children as they sing well-known songs or repeat familiar verses. Still more charming is the dancing of such pupils as individuals or small groups when they are freed from schoolroom restraint and find themselves on the open spaces of a beach, the heath or a forest glade. Released from conventional clothing and inspired by the sound of waves and wind, they dance alone to an inner rhythm. They sing to themselves or they form little groups and improvise singing games.

A type of artistic expression which has rapidly gained popularity is the *Sprechchor*, or speaking chorus, which is similar to the chorus in Greek plays. In the classroom or auditorium very interesting effects are produced as the chorus chants a poem which the actors interpret in rhythmic pantomime. Well-intoned verses give a beautiful musical effect and the group of speakers makes an interesting human background for the dramatic action. There are obvious advantages in an arrangement that permits all members of a class to be participants in school plays. Youth organizations and groups of older people sometimes unite hundreds of persons in a *Sprechchor*. The dramatic effect thus secured is valued no more than is the social unity or community feeling brought about when masses of individuals direct their efforts toward a single harmonious

production. Orchestral unity is sought without instruments other than the human voice.

The meaning of the speaking chorus is socially symbolic. It is a popular movement which has to do with the feeling of the masses. They seek thus to express the feeling that "I cannot do it alone, but together we can." The impression one gets in listening to a speaking chorus is the total submergence of the individual, the negation of all individuality except that of the group. It is hard to avoid the feeling that the individual here does not trust himself but relies upon the group to which he belongs for support. It is hard also for us to avoid the feeling that the European likes mass action and is not able to forget generations of obedience to the command of one person, whether it be a king, party leader, teacher or director of the chorus.

Dramatics of all sorts can be found in the German schools from the simplest make-believe play of the kindergarten child to the elaborate presentation of classic drama by secondary school pupils. In between these are plays written by the children, spontaneous dramatization of folk tales, traditional puppet plays and a number of well-loved dramatic classics written for children. Outside the school there is general interest in a movement similar to the Little Theater in this country. However, this is confined chiefly to small centers and traveling amateur companies, because every larger town and city has its municipal theater which gives excellent drama and opera at low prices. There are afternoon performances for children and popular nights with reduced admission, so that no youth or workman need be cut off from the pleasure and educational advantage of hearing good plays and music.

The changes in art and music instruction are paralleled by the change in attitude toward the teachers of these subjects. Before the war art teachers occupied a subsidiary place in the German schools. The art master had been an instructor in a comparatively new and special subject whose value for every pupil was not generally recognized. Drawing secured a regular place in the school curriculum years ago but it has been only tolerated and art was robbed of its vital purposes by the pressure of alien aims. The teachers had inferior standing and could exercise little influence on pupil development or school policy.

The school reforms have not only brought a change in the rank

of art and music teachers but also widespread enthusiasm for their subjects among the entire teaching profession. No German pedagogue now fails to take an interest in music and art, and most teachers have let ability or knowledge that centered before on a private hobby enter into their life at school to the enrichment of classroom work and social feeling. The philosophy and psychology of esthetics are now dominant themes in pedagogical discussions and many a drawing master has become an educational specialist.

The rise of interest in art for every child and recognition of its value in the daily life of the common man are tendencies of the greatest significance to the German people. By nature they are a music-loving, color-loving people. The barbaric brilliance of their medieval guild halls and timbered farmhouses is a true expression of the innate Teutonic need for color in the midst of a land gray with mists many months of the year. Their music has kept alive the singing soul of the peasant folk and built up classical traditions of rare excellence. But the other fine arts tended to decay along with handicrafts as an industrial age hastened and standardized production. Something necessary to the life of the people seemed to vanish and the modern machine age gave back nothing in its place. Thus the life of the lower classes became barren of beauty and the homes of the upper classes were filled with furnishings that had lost all meaning in structure and ornament. Worse than this drop in standards of taste was the closure of an outlet to expression, which had formerly made the daily labor of the craftsman beautiful and satisfying in a way that his mechanical work in the factory never could be.

German artists and school reformers did not live in a utopian dream imagining that they could bring about a return to the days of the guilds and individual production. They knew that the march of progress could not be checked and that the industrial era had come to stay so that it was futile for them to fight against its control of conditions. But they did see a chance for protecting one part of every person's lifetime from premature mechanization, so that the art impulse and its higher forms of creation would have a better chance to live. They resolved to make the school a place where childhood and youth could expand their creative powers naturally under sympathetic guidance. Thus they hoped to preserve the artistic inheritance of the German people and to nurture abilities that

might be productive of finer goods for the modern industrial nation.

The art movement in the schools is as yet too young to show results in national art but much can be expected from Germany within a few years. Already the stimulation and release of potential creative force has reflected itself in the rise of craft industries throughout the country—native pottery, weaving, wood-carving and bookbinding establishments thrive. The fine arts show more virility than for many decades. Modernistic painting and sculpture as well as more conservative works fill the city galleries. Architectural experiments that are not merely variations on old themes but are successful attempts to construct buildings in accord with the spirit of the age abound. Commercial manufacturers of furniture, textiles, ceramics and books have brought out many exceedingly interesting designs. The German motion pictures were late coming into the field, but their studios have produced several films distinguished for unique artistic qualities, both in mechanical treatment and dramatic concept. The legitimate stage is recovering from its dependence on the classics and its subversion to American Broadway shows and is evolving plays that express the emotional forces stirred by the social struggles of recent years. Composers of music occupy themselves with experiments in rhythm and harmony. The classics are still valued for their imperishable beauty, but modern times have brought a demand for the creation of other musical forms.

PART TWO

Vanguard Schools

CHAPTER VIII

Pre-War School Experiments

"Truth was discovered long ago
And has united noble spirits.
Lay hold of the ancient truths!"
GOETHE

EVEN war and revolution do not alter custom radically overnight. Striking changes wrought in a time of crisis have their roots in times of peace. Ideals proclaimed as new may be as old as the mind of man, for truths that one generation believes it alone has discovered have often been known to the ancients and to peoples widely separated. Long before Germany had declared war the seeds of her present school reform were being scattered throughout the land. A decade before the revolution some of them had taken root in fertile soil and were developing experimental schools as distinctive organisms in the national system of education.

From the theories of Comenius, Rousseau, Basedow, Francke, Pestalozzi and Froebel, grew the modern experimental schools in Dortmund, Augsburg, Munich, Leipzig, Dresden and Hamburg. These were the immediate forerunners of the post-war Community Schools and the present German school reform. To the pre-war experimental schools we must look for the essential features which appeared in the later schools in more pronounced form.

Even earlier in eighteenth-century schools were to be found the germs of many educational theories and practices proclaimed as new in the last decade. That period has been called the "Pedagogic Century" in Germany, for it was crowded with idealistic ventures in education. When Rousseau directed the attention of Western Europeans to natural and individual education he became the instigator of a series of free schools. Comenius's educational writings likewise had widespread influence. A dozen men responded to the romantic spirit that pervaded educational philosophy from the beginning of the eighteenth century and established "new schools."

One of these was the Francke Foundation at Halle, where some departments of that institution remain to this day. Crafts and science made Francke's school distinctive at a time when most schools were oblivious to all educational values except those derived from the classics. The attention his school gave to "education through experience and activity" marks it as a progenitor of twentieth-century reforms. In Berlin, Hecker organized a secondary school without Latin and dared to give his pupils some training closely related to the needs of real life. Basedow opened a school at Dessau with the aim of allowing each child to unfold his abilities freely in an atmosphere of simplicity and happiness. Bahrdt in Marschlin emphasized physical education and play. Pupils in his school were accustomed to long trips afoot and much outdoor life. They wore simple clothing for the sake of health and freedom in movement. Salzmann's school at Schnepfenthal also favored unconventional dress—there were no "high collars and powdered hair." The native language took precedence over Latin and clerical supervision disappeared as the lay teachers assumed greater responsibility for this school's affairs. Then came Pestalozzi's home school at Yverdon where emphasis on naturalness, joy and activity fostered the growth of a new concept of education. Drawing began to win a place in the school curriculum, experience became a recognized avenue of learning and social adjustment between the individual and the group was accepted as an educational aim of the greatest importance. Finally Fröbel's work and writings gave added impetus to a movement that was rapidly focusing the attention of educators on the child as the center of the educational process.

A gap of almost one hundred years separates one experimental era in German education from the next. Small centers of reform kept up the struggle for existence during the first half of the nineteenth century, but no perceptible advance in liberalism affected the mass of schools until the opening of the twentieth century. In 1809, when the German states were beginning to recover from the Napoleonic wars, Fichte made his famous addresses to the German nation calling for renewal of their strength through better education for the youth of the land. Later Stein introduced excellent plans for a country-wide system of public schools, but a conservative reaction overwhelmed his supporters and he retired from official life with nothing accomplished in this field. Again, in 1848, the

possibility of a liberal educational policy was imminent for a short time but once more the opportunity was lost. The close of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 gave a new occasion for organization of a national educational system but the victors were in no mood for free experiments. They saw the schools and the pupils as instruments to be used for stabilizing the newly founded empire. In the hands of the imperialists an educational experiment was carried out only too successfully, for it resulted in a system of schools, distinguished for their rigidity and dehumanizing influences, as well as for their efficiency and standards.

From 1870 until 1918 educational experimentation was not welcome in Germany. In the eighties, when Ziller declared to his students in the University of Leipzig that "every school should be an experimental school," his words were misunderstood and free tendencies that had appeared here and there were suppressed by the school authorities. In spite of the official ban against new ideas in education and the prejudice felt by the upper class whenever liberalism threatened to weaken their hold on the lower class, there was a practical philosophy steadily at work preparing the way for thorough-going school reforms.

In Munich a school supervisor, Dr. George Kerschensteiner, had been engaged since 1880 on the reorganization of curricula and the development of methods that would help to realize his ideal of "education through activity." His theories are the natural outcome of a scientific age. Classicism in the higher, and dogmatism in the lower schools were equally remote from the practical, experimental spirit of modern times. A materialistic civilization was moving forward rapidly and the school system could not long remain an anachronism. Knowledge of nature and extended control of natural forces had given man the courage to demand more freedom for the individual, and the wisdom to see his need for social organization. The old school had based its program on instruction alone. The new school that was demanding recognition at the opening of the twentieth century laid a broad foundation on educational principles developed from the related sciences of anthropology, psychology and sociology.

The nature of man as a living creature and his behavior as a social being gave the *School of Activity* five definite angles of approach to the educational problem: the physical, intellectual, social,

esthetic and moral phases of human nature. Immediately the new educational philosophy found itself entering a realm that had formerly been conceded to the church, a powerful state institution. The *Activity School* set up ethical standards which had no direct relation to religious dogma. According to the new educational creed there was little virtue in mere feelings, thoughts and words, but good actions were the real evidence of spiritual values. This seems a harsh, materialistic doctrine, perhaps, and it is certainly not a faith for weaklings, but it has its justification in every democracy that must live or die by the efforts of millions of individuals.

The *Activity School* ennobled the idea of work as the force that had raised man out of barbarism and created civilization. Thus the educators made an attack against the citadel of caste which has rested on the distinction between those who labor and those who enjoy the fruits of others' toil. When the *Activity School* looked to work as the best means of educating youth they raised respect for labor to a higher level. It is erroneous to assume that the *Activity School* is concerned only with work in the material sense that implies concrete results. Unfortunately the idea is often interpreted as if it applied to manual labor only. While this type of activity is given a much larger place in schools than heretofore yet no handwork of educational value can be carried on without a due proportion of mental effort, and all really intellectual activity is valued for its own sake even though it may not produce objective results.

Some material is best assimilated by pupils who are in the relatively passive state of reflection or silent appreciation. This, too, is a phase of mental activity no less valuable in its way than that of definite focus on an intellectual problem, or thoughtful manipulation of concrete materials. Each type of work has its own method, but the spirit of activity can infuse all. Education through self-activity requires simply that the pupil or worker identify himself with the matter at hand. If it is a subject for observation or appreciation he responds to it because of his intrinsic interest in the music, poem or natural phenomenon and does not need to be forced to pay attention. If it is a problem he accepts it as his own and strives for a solution without need of a teacher or an outside authority to hold him to the task. In each case the pupil's own purpose is the element compelling activity.

This theory of education demands a new spirit in the school,

for of old most of the work in the classroom was done at the will and bidding of the teacher. The new practice also requires a change in the set-up of the classroom, for a situation must be created which will inspire children to discover their own problems and work persistently toward solutions, or to seek their pleasures on a high plane.

To create the right setting and atmosphere for the *Activity School* was the task which the pre-war experimental schools in Germany saw before them. Some of them made marked progress between 1906 and the outbreak of the war. One of the first to declare itself an *Arbeitsschule*, Activity School, was the *Augustaschule* in Dortmund, a large public elementary school in a poor quarter of an industrial city, where the buildings are grimy and the moral reputation of the neighborhood is so bad that the inhabitants boast of the crime record of the district. Under the most unfavorable conditions the faculty of this school ventured to reorganize their plan of work. The first step was to secure some release from official regulations and to form themselves into a self-governing group.

Basing their new program upon "activity as a principle of instruction," the teachers allowed their pupils great freedom for self-development and they stepped in only when the experience and resourcefulness of a pupil threatened to fail. Because of extended opportunities for observation, experience, creation and discussion the power of the pupils grew and the educational results were so satisfactory that the Dortmund faculty published a report of their experiment in 1909.

They relegated the tool subjects to a minor place in the school curriculum, giving special periods to the technique of reading, writing and arithmetic, until the needed skill for each stage was obtained, but regarding these subjects as means to be used for real learnings and investigations, and not as ends in themselves. Language and grammar were taught in relation to some genuine need for expression. Arithmetical processes and problems which are seldom used and had no application in real life were dropped from the course of study. The first class attempted no reading or writing until they had been in school for two months and had enjoyed games, songs, stories, dramatic play and handwork so fully that they had a favorable attitude toward school and were ready to transfer a fluent speaking vocabulary to the study of word symbols. The school reader lost its central position as the one course in literature, and

a variety of children's books, as well as original stories, took its place as reading material. Moralizing tales were cast out since the teachers were confident that the practice of moral behavior was more effective than the learning of many precepts.

Studies of the environment—the home, neighborhood, city and province—formed the core of work in the first four years, and similar social studies of wider range occupied much time in the four upper classes. The amount of art and craft work was increased and differed in kind from the previous drawing of models and learning of technical processes. Construction, drawing and modeling were either the free expression of the child or the purposeful execution of plans developed in response to some need at school or at home.

In spite of its modified procedure, the *Activity School* in Dortmund did not go to extremes in the matter of school discipline. The teachers required obedience but they provided for the growth of their pupils in responsibility and self-control. This school has lost its position as an outstanding experiment because of economic conditions since the war. Possibly, too, the faculty found it difficult to rally interest in the cause of reform a second time, while the schools which had made fewer innovations previously, could put all the impetus of fresh enthusiasm into their school experiments at the moment when dissolution of the empire gave novel projects more chance of permanence.

In Augsburg the *Elias-Holl-Schule* was also organized as a *School of Activity* before the war. In a report entitled "Thinking and Doing" and in their practice this group of teachers made clear its concept of "manual work as something organically related to instruction, not taking the place of mental development but materially advancing it." They tried to make their school a world in miniature where pupils could gain first-hand experience with materials, the environment and social relations. Not only did they give special attention to arts and crafts, school journeys, gardens and lantern talks, as all these enriched the instructional side of school life, but they also provided well for social education by giving increasing power in the management of school affairs to groups that showed themselves capable of taking responsibility, by carrying on welfare work within the school community, and by enlisting the cooperation of the parents in the distinctive purposes of the school.

Soon after the *Activity School* in Dortmund was established the Leipzig Teachers' Association found itself ready to undertake an educational experiment of even wider scope. Individual teachers had made tentative trials of the new principles and a group of them had worked out a curriculum for the four lower grades of the elementary school. This was introduced simultaneously into twenty-two primary classes, one in each school district of the city, whereby difficulty in transferring pupils was avoided. Discussion among the teachers had revealed widespread dissatisfaction with the old school. There was a general "feeling that the efforts of pupils and teachers are not well used, that things cannot go on this way, that a change must come and a new school grow out of the old one."

In 1909 the Leipzig teachers published their philosophy of education in a volume called "The Activity School," which contained many statements that were radical for that time. "The development of the child is the law and the rule for all education. The school should concern itself with the pupil's life now rather than in the future. . . . The school of to-day fails because its teaching is based upon subject matter that a child will need when he becomes a man and not upon that which he needs to-day while he is still a child. . . . We see the goal but not the child. . . . We hinder his complete unfolding in the present and, through our own impatience, we destroy his chances of development for all the future. Who is to blame?"

However strongly the Leipzig teachers may have felt that the national system was to blame, they wasted little energy in recrimination but showed their own initiative in setting matters right for the groups in their charge. Twenty-two classes with an average of thirty-five pupils each had made no small beginning for their experiment. Every year it grew as the classes advanced with their own teachers and a new teacher and a new group of children took their places in the lower grades, until almost three thousand school children of the city had been touched by the new influence that came from the *School of Activity*.

Each group remained with a teacher for three years. During that time the teachers were free to discard the official curricula and schedules, but at the end they were obligated to meet the normal standards of achievement for the three lower elementary classes. They were allowed to use any subject matter or methods they found

suitable. Most of them preferred to omit reading as a subject in the first school year and they decreased the amount of arithmetic taught there. They devoted the time gained to enrichment of the children's experiences and to cultivation of their powers of expression, using drawing, handwork, stories, music, play, excursions, and changing centers of interest to satisfy immediate interests and to build up a good foundation for future growth in school life.

The pioneer work of the Leipzig Teachers' Association was not lost during the war period, but it took on new force as the breakdown of the empire and the old school system threw open wider opportunities for professional groups to take the initiative in school affairs. An experimental or Community School was established in Leipzig, and the majority of elementary teachers in the regular schools tried to put into practice the principles of activity and freedom that were pervading school work throughout the country.

As the seat of one of the new teachers' colleges and as the home of a great university, Leipzig had unusual facilities for promoting the school reform. Professors in both these institutions supported the teachers when they formed study clubs and set to work on the solution of their problems. Leipzig teachers went to the heart of the matter by devoting much time to child study and they drew up an excellent record form to guide teachers in their observation of individual pupils. In a book entitled "The Inquiring Teacher and the Creative Child" their theory and practice are set forth clearly. The Leipzig group has sustained its reform efforts over a considerable number of years and has exerted great influence on educational legislation throughout the province of Saxony as well as in its capital city.

Dresden's educational experiments before the war followed a line closely parallel to those of Leipzig. Not only were Dresden teachers affected by the new theory of the Activity School, but they also went back to the philosophy of Pestalozzi and Fröbel to show how one-sided was the development permitted by German schools and how much latent human power was irreparably lost in school life. Although these teachers had excellent reform plans to offer the public school authorities those officials were timorous or unwilling to venture far into new territory, but they did permit sixteen primary classes in various parts of Dresden to be used as experimental groups. The same curriculum changes were made as found favor in

Leipzig. The subject matter of instruction was taken largely from the range of children's interests and the method was based upon their natural activities. Three years were allowed for these pupils to reach the usual goals of skill and knowledge in reading, writing and arithmetic. The practical results from this free work were so excellent and the support of the public so well secured through explanations to other teachers and to parents, that the school board soon permitted an experimental class to be formed in any school, whenever the teacher and parents concerned were eager to give the new type of education a trial.

Still the conviction grew that none of these isolated experiments were fair tests of the value of the *Activity School.* Its full realization could only be brought about, the leaders felt, when an entire school was given over to the experiment. In 1913 the teachers of Dresden petitioned the school authorities to set aside a special experimental school. The war shattered this plan temporarily but it was taken up again in 1919 by some of the men who had fought for the new educational ideals from the outset. They wasted little effort in extreme radicalism, and their experiment moved steadily forward in faithfulness to its social ideals and in improvement of school practice. Scarcely less notable is the progressive quality of work found in many of the regular elementary schools of Dresden.

Munich's development of the *Activity School* began with Dr. Kerschensteiner's work in the continuation classes in the eighties, and his influence spread gradually to other departments of the city system. Interest in the establishment of an experimental school led to the organization of a private association which sought to advance the cause by establishing a kindergarten in 1908 and later adding to it the first three grades. The little school was favorably housed with ample indoor space, a good outdoor playground, a garden and pens for domestic animals. The curriculum of the kindergarten was flexible and followed the interests of the children: that of the first group was based on the household; the second class centered its work on the occupations of mankind; and the third group made a study of the modern city. English was introduced as a foreign language to be learned through rhymes, games and conversation. It was hoped by the founders that this school would develop into a city experimental school or, at least, that the private venture would encourage the city authorities to try out some of the principles

demonstrated. But the war again broke into the plan for extension.

Munich has never yet been distinguished as a center for experimental schools, even though the inspiration for the *Arbeitsschule* movement goes back to Kerschensteiner, a Munich professor, who is the greatest educational leader in Germany to-day. His position as a reformer and the essence of his teachings correspond closely with those of Dewey in America, although both men developed their philosophy of education independently, in the earlier stages, at least.

In order to account for Hamburg's advanced position in school reform, one must go back hundreds of years and recall her status as a "Free City of the Hanseatic League," in the days when Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck enjoyed a notable degree of independence. Their citizens developed a tolerant cosmopolitan spirit from commercial contacts with peoples of other lands. The form of city government was somewhat democratic, since it rested less upon hereditary title than on individual achievement and provided for representation of the middle and lower classes to an unusual degree. The rise of the merchant class had created many private fortunes and their surplus funds were often turned to service in welfare work for the public. The tradition of private enterprise in city affairs was generally recognized as a valuable offset to governmental domination.

A flourishing teachers' association has existed in Hamburg for more than a hundred years. It bears the name "Society of Friends of Education" and has played a significant rôle in all educational crises. Previous to 1871 there had been only private and "poor" schools in Hamburg, but with the founding of the empire the Free Cities were brought under the national school law, which required the establishment of free elementary schools throughout Germany. In one important respect the Hamburg teachers upheld their personal liberty. They did not allow the church to take control of religious teaching in the school nor did they force any teacher to give religious instruction against his will. Free thinkers and Jews were allowed to teach in the schools along with Protestants and Catholics.

In the nineties the Hamburg elementary schools took a great step toward independence by forming faculty synods in many schools. These were democratic bodies for management of affairs in each

school and for communication with the central office of the city system. They automatically took over some of the functions of school principals and supervisors. The synods not only secured a better hearing for the teachers' demands, but they also fostered professional development and gave teaching groups definite standing among other working people. Hamburg elementary teachers have been somewhat divided in their allegiance to the proletariat and bourgeois parties, but their sympathies and influence began to veer toward the former as the interests of capitalism and socialism diverged sharply, and the needs of the lower class, the patrons of the elementary school, became more appallingly evident. Socialist doctrines played no small part in the founding of Hamburg's Community Schools after the war.

Just before 1900 another strong impulse toward school reform came from the world of art. Alfred Lichtwark gathered the teachers about him in the Hamburg museum and inspired them with his zeal for popular education, his theory of education as growth and his plans for making the arts a real part of the life of the masses. He even hoped the new education would help to bridge the gap between high castes and low. A Teachers' Association for Art Education was formed with committees on the graphic and plastic arts, literature, music, crafts, physical education and teacher training. Many of these groups have had nation-wide influence.

A third step taken by Hamburg as early as 1908 was the formation of parents' associations. Ordinarily these groups are supposed to have sprung up at the close of the war, but as a matter of fact in many Hamburg schools the parents' organizations were complete in 1918 and only awaited official sanction to become educational bodies with legal powers.

Although there was no city-wide plan for experimental classes in Hamburg before the war, yet a school reform commission, made up of representatives from various districts, did work together under the auspices of the Society of Friends of Education and drew up an elementary curriculum which is progressive even to-day. They also made recommendations to the school officials for the establishment of one or more experimental schools, and plans for this innovation were under way in 1914 when the declaration of war put a stop to all educational advance for four years. But the scheme was merely deferred and not abandoned, for 1919 saw the founding

of four Community Schools in Hamburg and several others followed soon afterward. Before the war experiments in Hamburg schools were not organized in all districts as were those in a few other cities, but they consisted of individual ventures undertaken by teachers on their own initiative. These same teachers were the ones who stood out later as courageous pioneers in single schools notably successful with the new methods as the Hamburg Community Schools led the revolution against educational traditions of a bygone era.

Certain outstanding distinctions must be kept in mind when comparing the school experiments which began before the war and those which occurred afterward. The former remained within the province of pedagogy but the latter took the whole of social life for their domain. The pre-war experimental schools were concerned chiefly with the materials and methods of instruction, although they also made some efforts to foster a democratic spirit, to extend professional control of educational affairs and to enlist the coöperation of parents. These early reformers maintained a scientific attitude toward their problem. The teachers adopted new procedure tentatively and felt equally obligated to discard what proved faulty and to disseminate what was found good. They regarded each experiment as a compromise with realities existing in the regular schools and sanctioned by custom. They bound themselves to meet the same academic standards as the other schools within a definite period of time. They were ready to undertake experiments with single classes rather than wait for the opportunity to take over a whole school. Occasionally a city system allowed all the grades at one age level to be included in a particular experiment, but more frequently single classes only were set free from fixed requirements at the request of a competent teacher.

Experimental schools *after the war* differed with their predecessors on many of these points, but their chief distinction lay in the fact that they regarded the school not merely as a place for the transmission of learning but as an institution that could reshape society. Removing education from the narrow field of pedagogy to the unlimited province of sociology expanded the concept and force of the experimental school tremendously. It became a factor that had to be reckoned with more seriously by state, church and family, for the radical Community Schools saw themselves as educational pioneers breaking the way for a new social order. Hitherto the school

had had social significance as it was used to perpetuate the *status quo* in political and religious affairs. Now it was asserting its independent right to teach whatever fitted the needs of childhood and youth, without regard for the dictates of the state or church or school officials.

After the war the revolutionists in education were not content with tentative reforms, but established their schools on a basis that seemed ideal to them, for they were convinced that democratic social organization and the activity curriculum would be fully justified in practice. They might experiment with minor details of procedure, but they had absolute faith in the fundamental tenets of their new educational creed and they were unwilling to temporize or compromise for the sake of conforming to traditional standards. They made no promise to reach the customary achievements in particular subjects for particular grades. They challenged the standards themselves. Transfer of practices from one school to another was not sought since the leaders felt that the individuality of each teacher and each school was to be respected as much as the individuality of each child. Thus it was expected that deadening uniformity would disappear from the school system and a series of institutions with distinctive characteristics well fitted to differing local conditions would gradually evolve.

Such an opportunity for untrammeled experimentation in the public schools of a great nation is rare. The outcomes are all the more instructive because many types of experiment were carried on simultaneously and comparisons enable German educators to draw conclusions based on real evidence. Reinlein, whose report on the pre-war experiments has been freely used in this chapter, pointed out in 1919 the need for a more scientific approach to education than the revolutionary schools of that day were attempting. He suggested that every experimental school secure official aid and recognition, make careful choice of problems, have a consulting committee of laymen and educators, procure dependable and experienced teachers, provide for related child study and some selection of pupils, and finally publish results for general criticism and adaptation.

Ten years later one finds all of these requirements for sound educational experiment fulfilled to some degree in many German schools. Not only are new possibilities in education being revealed, but, what is scarcely less important, old errors are being exposed, while "ancient truths" are being re-discovered.

CHAPTER IX

Community Schools

"Vom Kinde aus!"—GLASER

THE Community Schools of Hamburg and Bremen caused a sensation in the educational world in the years following the war. The fame of these free experiments in the public elementary schools spread beyond the German provinces and attracted educators from all parts of the globe. Radical and progressive teachers expected to find in them an educational paradise while conservatives anticipated chaos and lowered standards. After a day or an hour or a week in one of the new Community Schools each pedagogue could return to his own school and report that he had found exactly what he expected, for the *Gemeinschaftsschulen* presented all extremes of good and bad practice to the casual observer. Even the leaders feel that life and work in the schools thus far seldom approach their ideals.

But the full meaning of these socialized schools does not lie on the surface to be judged by the same standards as any change in curriculum or method. Therefore the proportion of loss and gain arising from such daring adventures in educational freedom cannot be hastily calculated. Prejudice plays too great a part in immediate judgments. Perhaps several decades must pass before the contribution of the Community Schools to democratic education can be understood and appreciated. For the Community Schools are much more than experimental schools dealing with pedagogical theories and practices. They are centers for sociological experiment and they aim to establish a new concept of the school as an institution.

Hitherto the German school had been the property of the state and an instrument of government. But the Community Schools made a declaration of independence. They declared that each public school belonged to the people it served and those who labored for it. The leaders stood firmly for the principle of local autonomy in education. Their stand on school affairs is comparable to that of the German

people when they framed the Weimar constitution in 1919 and thus acquired their first Bill of Rights. The same striving for liberty led teachers and parents connected with certain schools to assert their claim to fuller control of educational policies.

This had immediate consequences in the school organization. When the revolution had swept away the rigid school laws of the empire there were groups of teachers here and there who seized the opportunity to take control of their own schools. They recognized the administrative function of state and city school boards, but not their right to make such minute regulations of the details of school life that the initiative of teachers was paralyzed and the wishes of parents disregarded. In several schools the teaching staffs formed their own councils to decide questions of policy and instruction. Each of these groups chose one of their own number to take the place of the principal. The School Leader as he was called, served for a limited term and this office rotated among the members of the staff. They invited the parents to unite with them in working for the welfare of the children in the community. They allowed the pupils to feel that they were freed from former restrictions and could enjoy reasonable liberty of thought and action in every class and throughout the school.

The immediate result was chaos. Not in every school, for there were many which made a more gradual extension of liberties, but in several of those which regarded anarchy as the first step toward freedom there was an era of "wildness." Children were allowed to choose their own teachers, direct their own work or study and control their own behavior. The shift from regimentation and obedience in all the minute details of school life was so sudden that it threw the radical schools out of balance temporarily. Some of the teachers believed that this period of chaos was a necessary stage in the evolution of truly socialized schools. They maintained that education was an organic process and that no stage of growth was sound unless it grew out of the preceding stage. If the pupils were to value orderliness, discipline and social organization, they must be permitted to experience the inconvenience of anarchy, individualism and chaos. Then, and then only, would they be ready to submit voluntarily to the requirements of social order in the school, as they would need to do later in the world. With infinite patience and faith in their ideals the teachers in a few radical schools lived through the

stormy period when neither parents nor pupils had yet arrived at clear understanding of the aims and obligations of a Community School. But the leaders had their reward.

After days of pandemonium and uncertainty a class would set up its own rules of behavior, choose responsible pupils to carry out the will of the group and ask the help of the teacher in arranging a program of work. Teachers made the discovery that children, themselves, hate confusion and follow a natural impulse that leads to orderly use of time and materials, provided they are not made perverse by adult insistence on arbitrary standards of neatness and regularity, enforced without the understanding or will of the group which must conform to them. Taking for their slogan "*Vom Kinde aus,*" "Begin with the child," the Community Schools tried to follow the lead of their pupils in developing school curricula, methods and discipline that were in accord with child nature, so that they would have the active, whole-hearted coöperation of their pupils in every phase of school life.

In the same way they took the parents into the school and invited them to share the responsibilities, work and pleasures of the little community. Because the Free Schools attracted parents with strong convictions many meetings were stormy sessions in which socialists and communists, or free thinkers and orthodox churchmen debated hotly the stand the school should take on political and religious questions. Gradually the teachers were able to merge partisan interests in the common problems of the school, so that genuine community feeling pushed into the background the conflicts of opinion brought from the outside world, and the parents began to devote their time and effort to practical work for schools that were blazing the trail into a land of educational freedom.

The outward aspect of these schools reflects their inner purposes. Let us approach a Community School on Telemann Street in a dingy quarter of Hamburg where small shops and cheap apartments line the streets—a plebeian district but not one of poverty or extreme proletarian views. Far down the street can be seen the school gateway, which stands out bravely in its new coat of bright blue and yellow paint, softening the prison-like effect of the courtyard wall. In pre-war days this high wall and gate had real significance, for no child went out without permission during school hours,

and neither parent nor visitor went in without an official permit. To-day we pass through the gate unquestioned, and receive only a friendly nod from the custodian, who is accustomed to many visitors in this new era that has affected school life from top to bottom and turned a government institution over to the community. If we have already obtained a letter of introduction from the Board of Education there is not one chance in a hundred that it will need to be shown. Formerly the porter would have taken us directly to the principal, so that we might present our credentials and be guided through the institution according to regulations and the official pleasure. But nowadays he leaves us free to watch games on the playground, to talk to children playing in the sand pile, or to wander through the school building as we wish.

Probably the pupils become interested in the presence of a stranger and a foreigner and crowd around to ask questions or talk of their own affairs. Often this friendly group assumes the proportions of a mob eager to discover why a stranger and a foreigner has come to them. The visitor uses this opening to find out what kind of boys and girls the new school is making, or he counts himself lucky to escape into the school house with some pupil who volunteers to show his classroom or to find the School Leader. If it is class time the *Schulleiter* may be in his spacious office, which is more like a living room than a business office, for it has pictures, flowers, window hangings, table covers, book shelves and comfortable chairs in place of the filing cases, typewriter and conspicuous administrative paraphernalia that usually crowd the office of an elementary school principal in America. If it is recess the entire staff will be gathered in an attractive faculty room, sitting about the table talking and joking as they enjoy their coffee and sandwiches. Perhaps every member of the staff will be there and not a single member on duty outside, if the school has carried pupil government so far that the authorities feel they can forego playground supervision, but this is rare.

When a boy rings the bell at the close of recess there are no lines formed outside, even though the school enrolls six hundred pupils, but the children group themselves according to age so that the little children may come first. No particular concession is made to the girls, who accept their new freedom in a coeducational school on the basis of equality rather than special privilege. Pupil monitors are

stationed at various places in the halls and on the stairs, but their duties seem light for each group goes to its own room, talking and laughing, but in good order.

Following them, we notice various exhibits of pupils' work in the corridors and announcements of clubs, assemblies and festivals posted on the bulletin boards. Entrance into the first classroom brings a tremendous shock. The room is decorated in many brilliant colors. One entire wall is covered with long, slender triangles, purple at the base, shading into pale lavender at the apex and painted upon an orange background. Opposite, a cubist study in greens fascinates the eye. Each of the four walls of such a schoolroom may have a different color and a different design, but values are so well balanced that the total effect is seldom raucous, however it may appear to the startled and skeptical reader.

Usually there is a theory behind the choice of colors and blendings. One enthusiast will solemnly tell you that red enhances creative power, that blue aids intellectual work and that yellow is excellent for rhythmic expression. A second theorist will contradict him on every point as to the exact effects of particular colors, but both will agree heartily on the stimulating effect of brightness in the schoolroom so far as children and teachers are concerned. They would never go back to the days when drab, dark walls expressed only too well the dullness of the routine which went on in those classrooms day after day and year after year. Light and joy and freedom are symbolized by the new mural decorations. The decorative scheme of many schoolrooms is more restrained, but almost invariably the walls are tinted in color with bright borders in contrasting shades. Sometimes an ambitious artist abandons conventional designs for realistic painting. A teacher, a parent or an older pupil will paint a frieze to portray the natural beauties of the region as they have seen them on their trips, or they will depict a folk festival which the school community has celebrated.

Everything possible has been done to banish the cold, prison-like atmosphere of the traditional schoolroom. Growing plants and flowers have their place. Gay curtains are hung at the windows and one can actually *see through* the window panes. For years it has been customary in Germany and some other European countries to make the lower panes of schoolroom windows opaque so the pupils would not be distracted by glimpses of the outside world. That pre-

caution is no longer necessary since the school now goes out to make its own contacts with the realities of life, and inside the classroom interest holds the pupils to a reasonable degree of attentiveness. Engravings of emperors and pedagogues have disappeared. Good, colored prints or the pupils' own drawings and paintings are hung on the walls.

Instead of straight rows of fixed desks, where children sit one behind the other in artificial isolation, the same old double desks and benches have been placed in a semi-circle or hollow square, in order that pupils may see and hear one another better and really feel themselves to be members of a social group. The classes usually number forty to fifty pupils, so that the new arrangement may place them three deep, but even that is better than having every child look at the back of the pupil ahead. Rarely have the schools been able to afford new furniture, but an occasional primary class is supplied with low tables and chairs. Some of the old furniture has been rebuilt into more suitable form by the parents. Often a class will furnish one corner of their room with painted benches, bright cushions and an easy chair or two, so that they may escape from the confinement of desks when they wish to read together, tell stories or discuss group affairs.

The teacher's desk no longer dominates the room from a high platform. The platform may be retained to serve as a stage, but the desk occupies an inconspicuous place in a corner and the teacher usually sits among his pupils. He has become one of them and is no longer an awesome authority or official taskmaster. When the word gets around a Community School that an American is in the building, several pupils usually rush up and beg for a lesson in English or a talk about the United States. The first refusal does not check their eagerness. Some of them are sure to lie in wait for the visitor and press their claim for a special lesson. The guest may enjoy such enthusiasm but demur at accepting an unauthorized invitation. Most of us have such deep-rooted respect for the teacher as master of his own schoolroom and guardian of the time schedule that we hesitate to put previous plans awry. But in a Community School such fears are groundless, for every program is flexible and the pupils are always confident that the teacher will like the special lesson they have arranged. He does, because it indicates their growth in initiative and interest in the class work.

The teacher gives his full coöperation in arranging the room, calling the pupils together and aiding the guest, who enters into an informal discussion of the subject they have chosen. It may be Indians, the Mississippi River, New York's skyscrapers or something else that happens to typify America to them. Maps are always at hand and questions asked in either English or German show that many individuals have some understanding of conditions in the New World. The pupils' curiosity may be so great that they accompany their new friend to the very door of his hotel. Often they thank the guest by singing an American folk song or an English ballad, for some of these groups have made considerable progress in English as an elective subject. One class in Hamburg could find no other time in the day for it, so its members came to school for months at seven in the morning for a special English class they had organized themselves.

The air of Community School pupils as they entertain a visitor is the most convincing proof that they now feel the school belongs to them, and that whatever happens within its bounds is their personal concern and largely dependent upon their management. They are not waiting for anyone else to give them commands or direct their work. They know what they want and they go after it with the calm assurance that they will succeed and that the teacher is there to aid them in carrying out their own ideas. The veneer of conventional manners, which formerly held the German child at a distance from his elders in public, has dropped away and the boys and girls of a Community School approach even the stranger with spontaneous sincerity and earnestness, which shows that their natural faith in adults has not been betrayed by the school as it is now. These children are not oppressed by a set of rules limiting their freedom and threatening them with punishment. In an atmosphere of liberty and positive encouragement to new endeavors, the pupil's field of activity has expanded.

As one goes from room to room in the Community School and sees every child engaged in activities natural to his age, it becomes clear that these new schools have revolutionized instruction. There are no boys and girls sitting in rows silently waiting for the command of the teacher. There are no recitations in the usual sense of that word, when questions and answers were the one method of proving learning. The idea of the social group determines the form

of seating and the class procedure. Now the pupil is usually the questioner and the teacher is ready to answer queries or give help when called.

Here is a first grade class of fifty children who spend two hours daily in the school. Usually they work for the first period and spend the next out of doors, where the open space for games and the sand pile for construction seem to offer them all they need for vigorous play. To-day rain keeps them inside during the second hour and they are using the opportunity to make miniature lanterns for the great Lantern Festival the school holds in September. Every year the German children parade with lighted lanterns in the early dusk of autumn evenings and the school has made this custom the motive for one of its celebrations.

As this large class cuts and pastes their paper lanterns, too small and fragile for candles, but satisfying to their young hearts, some child begins singing the traditional lantern song ending, "My lantern is out and I go home." Others join in and soon all are singing the familiar rhyme. A few children proudly show lanterns made at home from paper boxes and they ask the teacher to draw on the board different kinds of lanterns they have seen as they describe their forms and colors. They want to draw such a festoon of lanterns in their new note books. Out come their slates for preliminary sketches, then their self-made primers for colored drawings of lantern festoons and people parading. From the board they copy the large printed word LANTERN quite unconscious of the fact that they are taking the first steps in writing and reading. The song is still heard occasionally and there is always much friendly, quiet talking and comparison of work. The teacher remains in the one open space toward the front and children go to her for help. It would be literally impossible for her to reach them as they sit three on a bench with scarcely space for aisles. Thus it is that integrated instruction, learning through activity and study of local interests begin in the first class of the school, even though large enrollments and dearth of materials make the conditions inauspicious for educational equipments.

The next class of thirty-six children works in a room similarly arranged but they have space to move about with greater freedom. Six groups are engaged in playing number games, learning to add without knowing it by keeping scores. The children play as partners

and help one another in scoring, so that the teacher is seldom called into consultation, except to admire a lucky play. Presently the games are put away and each child takes his slate and dice to work alone at scores, imagining he is playing for two children as suggested in the little arithmetic book. Later there are number stories as they gather in the front of the room, sitting on the floor and a few narrow benches. "How can you get a score of nine with the dice?" and "What did you spend at the park yesterday?"

The latter question is very pertinent, for it recalls the Constitution Day celebration with its great sports festival for all the Hamburg schools. Immediately the children are deep in a conversation about the parade, the music and their special experiences. While interest is high they go back to their seats and write down in the reading books they make for themselves some stories of the festival, adding their own illustrations. During the four hours these children spend in school their work flows from one activity into another as the tide of interest rises or ebbs, regardless of time schedules.

A group of nine- and ten-year-old children is also concerned with the coming Lantern Festival, but from a more business-like angle. They are anxious that a sufficient number of tickets shall be purchased in advance, so that arrangements may be completed and the social and financial success of the affair guaranteed. They decide to call the attention of their parents to the notice in the school newspaper. Another business interest is the sale of pictures taken during their stay at the *Landheim*. These bring out many reminiscences of that exciting fortnight in the country.

They are collecting the stories, maps and drawings, to go into a book called "Our Visit to the School's Country Home." Almost every pupil has told something different—the train journey, the mothers' work, the daily schedule, swimming, sleeping, meals, errands, building huts, music evenings, playing Indian, learning to obey the teacher's signals, weather, visitors, cost, the leave taking and the return to the city.

This energetic class has furnished its room with cupboards made of crates gayly painted. The pupils are building a few rough benches out of strong boxes that bear the label of a familiar American brand of condensed milk. One of the fathers has put a tool rack on the wall and constructed a simple work bench for their use. Scraps of wood and broken boxes offer them raw materials. Although it is

only the latter part of August, there are many Christmas gifts already finished—animal toys for younger brothers and sisters, paper knives for their fathers and wooden spoons and forks for their mothers. All are well made and carefully finished. They are of particular interest because of the variety of woods and the high quality of the products secured from economical use of tiny scraps.

Everywhere in this school handwork holds an honored place but only the older groups have special instruction. A class of girls is engaged in knitting doll clothes. Apparently German children do not give up their dolls as early as do girls in America nowadays. Previously each girl has made her doll a complete set of muslin underwear. The patterns were cut from wrapping paper by laying the doll on it and estimating size and shape. Patterns for knitted dresses, sweaters, skirts, bloomers, caps and capes are planned in much the same fashion and the knitted parts sewed together. There is a wide range in styles, colors and stitches. Little German girls seem to be born with the knack of knitting. They do it while tending the geese or goats in the country and town children seem little behind in this skill as they sit on their doorsteps watching passers-by. In this class the girls form groups of two or three, chatting as they work, while a larger number gather round the teacher's table. They help one another out of many difficulties, but still seek the approval of an older person. The looms at hand for weaving and the samples of stitchery show that they will go on to other forms of textile work later.

The boys' workshop is full of "all kinds of things"—aeroplanes, mechanical toys, boxes, lamp shades, wagons, boats, trains and animals. The room is far too small with only space for a single long work table, shallow tool cupboards and a supply of small wood. Evidently the limitation of space and funds for materials prevents the pupils from undertaking any large pieces of work, even though their technique is very good. The atmosphere of the shop is brisk and genial. There is much whistling, but very little talking and always close attention to the job at hand. The tools are handled skillfully and orderliness in arrangement seems habitual. Working drawings and sketches are conspicuous. The teacher works actively with the boys, not allowing many rash experiments or slovenly technique but foreseeing difficulties and demonstrating processes to secure high standards of workmanship.

Nowadays no Community School feels that it is complete with classrooms only. There must also be a shop for wood and metal work; a printing press for the school newspaper, wood cuts and odd jobs; a craft room for weaving, sewing and construction in cardboard; an art studio for drawing, painting, carving and modeling; a laboratory for observation and experiments in natural science; a music room for singing and orchestra practice; a gymnasium for games and dancing, and a hall for school assemblies. Not all schools are so fortunate as to possess all of these, for one room must often serve two purposes. In the early days, teachers had to make their regular classrooms serve for the new activities. But the elementary school enrollment dropped as the result of the low birth rate during the war and afterward, so that the present schools are seldom overcrowded and often extra rooms become available. The parents' associations come to the aid of the schools constantly and make it possible to add one piece of equipment after another. Teachers, parents and pupils practice strict personal economies in order to buy things needed for the school. Parents work on holidays and in the evenings to remodel, construct and install the required equipment.

All Community Schools are in the larger cities, but they usually have roomy courtyards, which are available for open air games and gymnastics and which are used even in cool and misty weather. Some schools have an additional walled enclosure, where children may enjoy sun and air baths as they play, exposing their bodies day after day until skins are brown and muscles firm. Many schools have a small garden space but the Country Homes offer a better opportunity for elementary agriculture than do city courtyards.

The Community Schools are partly responsible for the growth of the *Landheim* movement. There are a few which do not possess a Country Home but they feel incomplete without one and they regard the use of the Hostels of Youth as a mere makeshift. Most of the *Gemeinschaftsschulen* are large public schools in congested districts, where living conditions are as unfavorable to the physical growth of children as they are to their spiritual development. Therefore, every Community School is especially eager to arrange long visits in the country, where the pupils may enjoy sun and air and space as they play freely and drink in the natural beauty and simple experience, which are lacking in their city environment.

Occasionally a school is so fortunate as to have its *Schullandheim*

within walking distance of the regular school so that it may be constantly used, as is the case at Magdeburg-Buchau. Here is one of the new *Gemeinschaftsschulen* in the industrial quarter of a central German city one-third as large as Hamburg and also on the Elbe River. Work in this Country Home is so closely intertwined with that in the school that the former cannot slightingly be called a school annex, for it is in use all the year round and is as much a part of the educational plant as the main school building.

Labor for the home has been the most effective means of drawing the members of this School Community together. Teachers, pupils and parents form a group of workers interested not only in school instruction, but in social organization. These parents and teachers have incorporated themselves as an educational community, apart from all other legal organization, which any school must have. In this way, they are able to borrow money and transact business in order to further their purposes. They pay a rental of 2,000 marks ($500) a year for their *Landheim*, which is an old fort about a mile and a half from the school. The earthworks were built originally as a part of the city's system of defense against the surrounding principalities, but they have long been useless as a military unit. As might well be imagined, the fortifications were not well adapted to school purposes, but in three years' time the parents have given more than 25,000 hours of labor in order to remake the old fort into an outdoor educational center. Each parent did the type of labor for which he was best fitted. Some built a fence around the entire plot of ground, others constructed outdoor classrooms, laid out gardens, planted orchards, made an open air theater which seats fifteen hundred people, laid drainage, built walls and walks, leveled playground and practice fields, put up a store, restaurant and market and added many minor improvements and repairs from time to time.

A caretaker lives at the fort and helps with the garden and live stock—sheep, chickens, pigs, pigeons and occasional pets. Produce is sold to members of the community at prices somewhat below the regular market rate. The fort serves as a recreation center for the whole community and it is the scene of many school festivals. Every Sunday and every evening in good weather a great number of families go out there to work and rest and play. Magdeburg has a mild climate and long summer evenings, which the people like to spend

outdoors in garden cafés. This school has established a milk station and temperance restaurant in their park and within three years, the use of beer and wine has been practically abolished among members of this community, which numbers 500 or 600 families.

This Community School has developed a definite program of adult education for parents as an outgrowth of the practical work together. Their own shops give the men a place to work in wood, metal and other materials, while the women have formed groups to look after the business of the restaurant and milk station, to provide for vacation outings and to carry on classes in sewing and other handicrafts. Both men and women belong to clubs which devote their meetings to music, literature, physical training and hiking. Altogether there are about 700 working places in the school community in which adults can make themselves useful.

One must not get the impression, however, that the main part of the work at the fort is carried on by adults for adults. Their share is mentioned first, because it is unusual to find a large group of parents taking such an important part in the upbuilding of a school. It demonstrates the possibility and value of using community initiative in school affairs. There are extremists in the Community School movement, who would take the schools out of the hands of the government and let them be controlled entirely by local groups of citizens and patrons. If all parents were as devoted to the interests of children as these have been, that would be feasible. The sole aim of the labor these parents give is to make the fort a better outdoor school for their children. One teacher is there continually to take charge of practical instruction in natural science. Other teachers may come out to the fort with their classes in the morning and remain the entire day. One class or more may have all their school work at the fort for a number of days or weeks according to need.

There are schoolrooms of simple construction in which the pupils can be housed for any part of their work, which calls for classroom equipment or where they may go for shelter in bad weather. Fear that the freedom of work in the open will interfere with the quality of class achievement is almost groundless in the case of the school at Buchau, since the pupils are accustomed to a free type of instruction in the city schoolhouse also, where younger children follow a plan of work based on large centers of interest, which integrate many subjects, and older pupils divide their time between project work

and course instruction. As a result of this habituation to independence and self-purpose the adjustment to a new situation out of doors is made with little disturbance in work or behavior.

The fort, itself, is now most admirably adapted to outdoor school activities. The ramparts and embankments still remain and the contours of the fortifications provide a number of walled rooms with the open sky above. Trees and shrubbery on the earthworks protect the children from outside distractions. The school garden, outdoor theater, open air gymnasium and the natural science laboratories are the conspicuous features of this suburban school adjunct. It is difficult to imagine a more perfect place for an Activity School than is provided in this old fort, which has finally been used for a good purpose.

So far as the work at the city building is concerned, this school is divided into two parts, the four-year primary school or *Grundschule,* and the upper four years of the *Volksschule.* The work of the lower groups is much like that of any other progressive primary school organized upon the principle of integrated instruction. The work in the last four years of the school is divided into two general types—group work and course instruction. Group work occurs in socialized class periods and occupies the greater part of the time.

Course instruction allows for individual preferences. The following centers are organized in various rooms of the building: English, dramatics, stenography, electro-mechanics, mathematics, violin, orchestra, gymnastics, sports, drawing, typewriting, sewing, embroidery, printing, biology, weaving, wood-work, card board and leather work and metal work. These laboratories are open from eight in the morning until nine in the evening daily. When a child enters the fifth year of the school, he elects three of the laboratory courses and pursues them for at least one year. Each course meets twice a week and usually the pupil continues the second year with the same course, but it is not obligatory. One purpose of these courses is to determine the interests and abilities of the children and to serve as testing and finding courses for vocational guidance. From their individual work pupils carry back many ideas and habits that strengthen class work. While courses are primarily planned to meet individual needs, they also unite many pupils in group projects.

The *Gemeinschaftsschule* at Magdeburg-Buchau is one of the newest Community Schools and its development presents some in-

teresting points of contrast to that of the original experimental schools in Hamburg and Bremen. The Buchau school socialized its organization in 1923-24. Thus it escaped the worst years of chaos and hardship immediately following the war and it has been able to profit by the experience of those pioneer schools in planning its social organization and school procedure. It made no radical experiments. Class groups followed age and grade lines. The teachers' council, the parents' association and pupil self-government were introduced with checks on the power of each group. The curriculum was built upon a fairly definite plan, records were kept and standards of achievement were watched carefully. School equipment and furnishings were well suited to the needs of an Activity School. The classrooms were redecorated but color was used with restraint. The same ends sought by the first Community Schools seemed to be attained without tension or confusion. The ease with which later *Gemeinschaftsschulen* have been able to effect reorganization on a social basis is due both to the gradual spread of the national school reforms and to the pioneer experiments.

The most radical movement in Germany's post-war educational reform, sprang up in the northeastern corner of the country where the old cities of the Hanseatic League had preserved a tradition of freedom for centuries. Hamburg had always been distinguished for the professional initiative and independence of its teaching force. Furthermore, Lichtwark had made it a center of reform in art education just after the opening of the twentieth century. As an area suffering from the drawbacks of industrialism and congestion, this northwest region was particularly receptive to the influence of the Youth Movement and the stirrings of social revolt. When the national crisis came, it was to be expected that cities like Hamburg and Bremen should lead in founding new schools to educate children for life in the new republic.

The Community Schools have borne three names in the short period of their existence. First some of them took the old name, *Versuchsschule* or Experimental School, but that was a misnomer for the leaders had no intention of carrying on scientific experiments in education. They were primarily interested in schools as socializing agencies in a democracy. Therefore they chose to call the reorganized institutions *Gemeinschaftsschulen*, or Community Schools. Later a few teachers wished to emphasize the close relation of the

school to life and they again changed the name to *Lebensgemeinschaftsschule*, the School of a Living Society. Thus they stressed their conception of the dynamic nature of social evolution and claimed for the school, as a social institution, the right to grow and change in accordance with the needs of a changing civilization.

In Hamburg the superintendent of schools, Wilhelm Paulsen, sympathized with this movement and stood courageously behind each of the six schools in 1919 when they declared their intention of breaking away from tradition and finding a new way for pupils, teachers and parents to work together. At least four of these schools had been designated as experimental schools just before the opening of the war, but the disturbed years that followed had given them no opportunity for carrying out their plans. Their purposes were enlarged by the outcome of the revolution but conditions for work were far below normal.

Some of the school buildings had been used for hospitals and barracks during the war. In all cases the houses and equipment were dilapidated and there was little hope of securing funds for repair. Money was lacking even for fuel so that teachers could scarcely expect to be supplied with even the simplest working materials for their classes. Sheer necessity compelled the earlier Community Schools to rely upon spiritual purpose and the personality of the teacher to make each class group a real working unit. At the beginning there was a shortage of the experienced teachers who had been talking and thinking of educational reform for years. Some of them never came back from the war and the work had to be undertaken by a few leaders with young assistants who were ready to devote themselves to a cause in which they believed passionately. As the army was dissolved and prisoners were released new force was added to the zeal of the educational revolutionists, because men returning from the trenches had a clear view of the humanitarian ideals they wanted the schools to cultivate in coming generations.

The first years were discouraging because of the condition of the pupils themselves. Undernourished and ill-clad they came from homes that had been stripped of everything except the barest necessities. Many of them could remember little except four years of excitement and general anxiety that was all the more of a strain to them because so little understood. Premature contact with harsh realities had sharpened and hardened child natures. Some children

developed neuroses that were traceable to their irregular home life and to war tension. Many were children of the radical proletariat who caught up street slogans and were ready to make extreme use of their new-found liberty. The teacher, who undertook to cultivate altruism and tolerance in classes where adolescent "reds" were numerous, put the Community School's social ideals to a severe test. The radical ideas of some of the pupils and their unrestrained actions, as they were carried hither and thither by the violent currents of adult opinion on social, political and moral questions, were enough to put the new schools in danger before the public many times.

Almost every condition unfavorable to educational work was existing and flourishing in the institutions that ventured to inaugurate thorough reforms. Yet the longing for new life in the schools was so keen that protagonists of social education dared to face any difficulties rather than lose a rare opportunity for changing school practice. There were years of labor under material handicaps and unceasing battle with political enemies and prejudiced conservatives.

Superintendent Paulsen remained in Hamburg four years after the revolution, helping the Community Schools there to secure the right to experiment and seeing them progress from a state of relative chaos to a stable type of internal organization. Then he was called to Berlin, where the *Rütlischule,* the first Community School in the German capital, was established in 1923. An official bulletin, recognizing the status of Experimental and Community Schools in the city school system and stating conditions for their work, was issued after a controversy lasting eighteen months. Eleven Community Schools came into existence in Berlin but their founding was bitterly opposed. Paulsen continued the fight for another year and a half until a shift in political majorities forced his resignation. "But the schools lived on!"

Those in Hamburg and Bremen had to submit to official investigations but were able to give proofs of the good standing of their pupils and the capability of the teachers. The original Community Schools in both these Hanseatic cities have survived but they have not increased in number. However, the movement has spread to other cities in Northern and Central Germany until there are about twenty Community Schools in the association, which was founded for mutual support and exchange of professional experience. Mag-

deburg, Leipzig, Gera, Lübeck, Chemnitz, Dresden, as well as Hamburg, Bremen and Berlin have their Community Schools. All are public schools on the elementary level, but in some instances they have added two years to the course, so that pupils can remain in the same school from the age of six to sixteen. At least two secondary schools, the Lichtwark School in Hamburg and the *Neukölln Realgymnasium* in a suburb of Berlin, are closely allied to the *Gemeinschaftsschulen* in ideals and procedure. Both receive many Community School pupils who are able to undertake the more advanced work of higher schools.

The Community Schools are so individual in philosophy that it would be difficult to state their aims to the satisfaction of every school represented in the association. Most of the teachers distrust formulated objectives and procedure, because they fear the rigidity that seems to pursue even the apostles of freedom when their ideals are snared in the finality of set phrases. Rather than curb the spontaneity and dynamic force of their school revolution by adopting programs and resolutions, the Community Schools prefer to let each school shape its policy according to the changing needs of its own group and the leaders sedulously avoid uniformity in their campaign for progressive education.

However, Paulsen has stated the three chief aims of the Community Schools so liberally that most of his colleagues can agree with him.

First, the school must become *weltlich*, worldly, in a far deeper sense than is usually meant in Germany when one speaks of secular schools or schools without religious instruction. The Community School is a *weltliche* school, in order that it may become more closely connected with life or the world of human affairs. "The school must itself become a living world voluntarily regarding the laws and forces of actual, social existence. The reality of life, the genuineness of life, consciousness of life and insight into life must enter into the school. Then at last the school will be forced to free the pupil from oppressive traditions. . . . Then it will save him from the pressure of alien purposes. The youth who has conquered his own world (the school) will have developed all the technical skills and inner capacities, which are needed in facing the greater world."

The second aim for the Community Schools rests upon the first. The school must become in fact the world of childhood and youth.

It must no longer be an institution imposed upon them by adults, but it should become a "place for cultivating the vital expression of juvenile types of culture." Paulsen, himself, is not carried away by the craze for *Jugendkultur* to such an extent that he worships every product of young minds and hands, no matter how primitive or superficial it may be. On the contrary, he is much concerned that schools shall properly present the cultural treasures of the race, so that the original, creative work of each new generation may be enriched by the soil from which it springs.

This determines his third aim for the Community Schools. Since "we cannot conceive of an individual, except as a link in the chain of humanity . . . the pupil must become adjusted to the rights and duties of society and social thinking must control him. That social sympathy which unites the members of a race, the consciousness of unavoidable dependence which compels understanding, must be aroused in the pupil through daily, habitual fulfillment of simple duties toward his school community."

The points on which the Community Schools are usually challenged by their opponents are also significant, if one would understand the principles underlying a school revolt that was bizarre in its early manifestations, yet marks an epoch of healthy reform in German education. Opponents of the new schools criticize the position of the radical educators with reference to religion, politics, culture and morality.

The Community Schools are secular schools, offering for the first time in Germany the possibility of attending a public elementary school without compulsory religious instruction. Hitherto the parent of every pupil was required to specify his church preference and classes were divided into Lutheran, Catholic, Jewish or other groups, receiving instruction from the pastor or a teacher of their own faith during the periods devoted to religion. The Community Schools are opposed to the teaching of religious dogma to children and young people. According to their philosophy any form of indoctrination puts checks on freedom of thought and hinders the individual from arriving at his own decision in matters of faith. These schools do not discountenance religious teaching altogether. Their practice is to allow parents and pupils to decide whether religious instruction shall be given in the school or left to the church and the home. Most parents cling to the established custom and

consequently, practically all Community Schools offer courses in religion, but these are optional and tend to be non-sectarian in content and treatment.

There is equal hostility to the *Gemeinschaftsschulen* from those who look upon them as schools for the propagation of the doctrines of socialism or even bolshevism. Frequently they are called "black, red, yellow" schools, a designation which shows their stand on the argument that has endured for several years about a change in the German flag. Conservatives and admirers of the old régime wish to keep the colors of the former imperial flag, "black, white, red." But the republic has substituted yellow for white in changing the design and insists on the general use of the new flag to symbolize a radical departure from the principles of imperial government.

Naturally the Community Schools stand as proponents of democracy in government as well as in education. However, they are not bound to the Socialist party, although their interests rise and fall to some extent with the fate of that organization at the polls. Many of the leaders and teachers are Social Democrats, because they find in the political philosophy of that group some of the same ideals they wish to realize through the schools, but there are also ardent workers in the *Gemeinschaftsschulen,* who belong to more conservative or more radical political parties. Most teachers in these schools would prefer to eliminate party lines and build their work on the broad humanitarian concept of one people and their common right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Paulsen explains the educational philosophy that causes the Community Schools to incline toward socialism. Elimination of caste education by providing opportunity according to ability is fundamental to both. The outward form of the old school system indicated that it was based on special privilege and the inner working of the classes stressed individual rivalry. These characteristics are also those of a capitalistic society. The race for personal success made the school an arena for competition as the business world and the councils of nations have been. From the beginning of his school career the child's mind was fixed upon his own achievements, the rewards secured by surpassing his fellows and the fear of public scorn if he failed. The receiving and giving of aid in class work was a punishable offense and pupils passed through school in a curiously contradictory situation, where they were placed for years in close proximity

to their comrades yet were prevented from forming natural social habits.

Now the Community Schools have arisen to change this anomaly which they feel should not exist in a modern world of social interdependence. The war seemed to come as the climax of an individualistic period, when the struggle for supremacy in every field had been preparing battlegrounds for the whole world. The revolution in Germany broke the old system and gave the schools an opportunity to make a change in policy. Thus it came about that the Community Schools dethroned competition, affirming that "true socialism is the realization of humanitarian ideals."

The third point of attack on the *Gemeinschaftsschulen* has to do with a cultural problem that grew out of the Youth Movement and causes many arguments between the defenders of traditional learning on the one hand and champions of the *Activity School* on the other. Conservative educators fear that the cultural inheritance would be seriously diminished, if all schools, following the Community Schools, should take lightly their responsibility for transmitting those stores of knowledge accumulated by the race through centuries, and should favor the policy of letting children and youths guide their own education to any considerable extent. Leaders of the new school movement reply that cultural advance is made chiefly through the successive contributions of individuals, young in fact or in spirit; that is, by those who have not become bound to tradition. They claim that schools weighted with adult learning and purposes destroy the precious, original germs of creative power, which lie ready for development in childhood and youth and which produce works of use to society, if they are given freedom for growth.

But the public showed little understanding for this philosophy. The shift from class work following fixed schedules, official courses of study and grade standards was not only startling to those who had trusted the former methods of instruction, because they were so obviously systematic and thorough, but it was a real source of weakness in the new schools. The change was too sudden. Theories had been accepted before the methods of applying them were well developed and not every teacher was capable of readjustment. There was a period when much school work was conducted in a haphazard way, but soon most of the teachers began to analyze their changed problem and organize procedure better. Instruction improved, but

there was still a lack of those outward signs of efficiency to which the public was accustomed and there was much distrust of the freedom in thought and speech allowed pupils in the Community Schools. The general public was bound to the idea that the safety of the state and the continuance of civilization depended upon the success of the school in stamping its pupils with the beliefs and knowledge of their elders.

Opposing this view, the social philosophy of the Community Schools, which is the foundation of their cultural philosophy, champions the right of childhood and youth to their own forms of expression and experience. Developing human beings must have freedom to live through the stages of their own cultural evolution in order to ripen their gifts for society. Shackle youth with adult notions or worn precepts and you impair its creative power. Free it from dogma and put it in touch with the riches handed down through centuries and you feed the budding forces of the new generation, so that it can transmit the racial inheritance essentially unimpaired and actually enriched.

Last of all, the enemies of the Community Schools assail them on moral grounds. Indirectly this is another way of attacking them as secular institutions and hotbeds of socialism. To both the latter criticisms the leaders have made answer. They declare further that, according to their conception of morality, it is not measured by conformity, but it must consist of individual choice based on cultivated standards of judgment, whether the matter be one of religion, politics or personal behavior.

In their opinion any social order which invests its educational institutions with the power of compelling immature human beings to believe or behave in a specified way, is violating the principles of democracy to which the German people subscribed when they established a republic. Here, again, the Community Schools derive their educational philosophy directly from the natural rights of man as customarily recognized among peoples living under a constitutional government deriving its authority from the consent of the governed.

Teachers in the Community Schools maintain that the purpose of the school is not merely to secure moral action but to develop the moral will. This they propose to do by guiding the instinctive behavior of the child and the youth so that they may find satisfactory social adjustments within the school community and thus come to

prefer right modes of living with their fellow beings. In the degree that the school is a faithful miniature of the larger world it is probable that habits formed there will persist in real life.

The education of boys and girls together is one innovation that aroused antagonism to the Community Schools and occasionally led to accusations of immorality. Since the world of reality is made up of both men and women, these schools feel that their world, too, should bring boys and girls together so that sex adjustments may be made gradually and under guidance. Coeducation is not common in Germany. Only in the villages are mixed schools numerous and there the arrangement is made for convenience rather than on principle.

Consequently, the Community Schools put another weapon in the hands of their conservative enemies when they made coeducation an integral part of their school reform. In taking this step they were doubtless influenced to some degree by the recognition of women's equality as it had grown in Germany during the latter half of the nineteenth century and culminated in enfranchisement with the founding of the republic. But these educators were chiefly concerned with their endeavor to create in the school a social situation closely akin to that in the outside world, where men and women worked and lived side by side, sharing the responsibilities and benefits of their complementary relation. Just as the humanitarian creed of the Community Schools led them to avoid lines drawn by religious sects and political parties, they were also determined to minimize the barrier of sex distinctions to a reasonable extent.

The ideals of the leaders in these schools led them to continue their policy of coeducation in spite of calumnious attacks on the moral standards of their pupils. The new schools have been particularly exposed to suspicion, because their activities bring boys and girls together informally on hiking trips, in festivals, sports, plays and rhythmic gymnastics to a degree unknown before.

A changed standard in dress gives further occasion for comment. The Community Schools were among the first to advocate light clothing for play, so that the muscles could move freely, the body be exposed directly to the sun's rays and the skin perform its natural function of breathing. For esthetic reasons, too, these reformers prefer the grace of unclad limbs flashing in the rhythmic movements of work or play, to the awkwardness of bodies hampered by tight,

enveloping garments. There is a tinge of paganism in the philosophy of the *Gemeinschaftsschulen,* for they return to Nature with an enthusiasm that accepts all she offers as good and holy. This swing toward naturalism is part of the revolt against conventions that accompanied the Youth Movement and it is easily understood when one recalls how German boys and girls had aped the stiff manners and dress of their elders for decades.

In some Community Schools the freer relation of the sexes and comfort in dress may have gone to extremes that gave the gossips ground for rumors, which injured the reputation of one or two schools and reacted to the discredit of the movement in the eyes of people who were already prejudiced. Obviously, it is unjust to attribute to the *Gemeinschaftsschulen* alone the blame for any laxity that may have occurred at a time when the moral standards of the entire German nation were shaken and the adolescent problem was giving concern to the guardians of public morality throughout the world.

Friends as well as enemies of the Community Schools question the effect these radical centers have had upon the national school reform. Teachers within the schools, themselves, say, "We have advanced no farther than many other German elementary schools although we made the change more rapidly—too rapidly, perhaps. At first we went too far and had to retreat from our extreme position, especially with regard to grouping and standards of achievement. We wore ourselves out in chaos and combat at the beginning, while the mass of schools has moved more calmly and slowly in the same direction. Those teachers still have the strength to guide the New Education but they do not always have the vision to see its possibilities nor the courage to face its problems. Many of us are tired, but we have not lost our faith and we know that our pioneer efforts have helped to bring about the gradual democratization of many a school which never took the name—School of a Living Society."

CHAPTER X

Three Pioneers in Secondary Education

"The aim of education is not merely to perpetuate the dreams, thoughts, and achievements of the past, but to further the forward striving of the life of the present."—LAGARDE

THE first pioneer, a *Deutsche Oberschule,* is really new—a child of the war and revolution, which sprang from the same philosophy as the Community Schools. The second, an *Oberrealschule,* originated as a cathedral school centuries ago, but has long been independent of the church and now stands in the vanguard of educational progress. The third is a reorganized *Realgymnasium,* which has added an *Aufbauschule* and is expanding downward in order to become a true *Einheitsschule* having every class from the kindergarten through the high school in one building and organization.

In Hamburg stands the *Deutsche Oberschule,* which is dedicated to the ideals exemplified in Alfred Lichtwark's life and works. The *Lichtwarkschule* is perhaps the most radical state secondary school in all of Germany. Its aims are one with those of the Community Schools of Hamburg. It has recently introduced coeducation into a state secondary school, an unheard of innovation in Germany, which has tolerated a few girls in boys' schools at times, but never sanctioned real coeducation. It has sought to build a community of pupils, teachers and parents, by whom policies and procedures may be determined according to democratic principles. For a time the *Lichtwarkschule* repudiated official courses of study and regulations, and sought to develop a new curriculum that grew out of the needs of youth and cast off the dead weight of learnings, whose only claim to a place on the school program was that of hoary tradition. The *Lichtwarkschule* aims to be even more than a modern school. It seeks to become a school of the future, a school that turns the eyes of its pupils toward the dawn of a new day instead of back toward the twilight of yesterday's civilization.

The school now possesses a fine building on the edge of a great city park. This is one of only half a dozen new school structures that have been erected in Germany in the past fourteen years. The *Lichtwarkschule* had to wait long to attain such convenience and beauty, for the school came into being in the spring of 1914 and has known nothing but the stress of war and reconstruction. In the beginning, it was merely a six-year *Realschule* for boys in a newly developed suburban district. The call to arms took away most of the teachers three months after the school was founded, leaving the pupils in the hands of students and substitute teachers, and without even a permanent home. For two years the little school had to seek shelter in various buildings about the neighborhood until it finally settled down as the guest of a large secondary school for ten years. During most of that time a new school house was not to be thought of. Suffering from under-nourishment, like a true "war child," the school yet managed to continue its growth until it was a full-fledged, nine-year secondary institution.

With the close of the war and the return of veteran teachers and young enthusiasts, came the great opportunity for the determination of school policy by the teachers and parents. They resolved to undertake a decisive school reform and to build an institution true to the spirit of the dawning era. One of them said, "Even in times of catastrophe and uncertain transition, it is necessary to take hold courageously of the greatest and hardest problems, if we are not to miss the opportunities of the future, but are to lay a firm foundation for our development." In that spirit the pioneer work of this school was carried forward.

The *Lichtwarkschule* was neither willing to accept a traditional type of curriculum nor to trust entirely to the development of courses "from the child." They wished to treat the pupil, not as the object of demands, but as one who had the right to make some demands for himself. The teachers did not favor adopting the officially fixed curricula of any one of the higher school types and trying to modify it, but they wanted a curriculum flexible enough to allow for development and adaptation to the needs of different individuals and classes and schools. On the other hand, they distrusted the romantic enthusiasm of radical educators, who placed great hopes in the spontaneous, creative power of youth. They did not believe that creative power was given of itself, but they contended that it

was the result of interaction between persons and things. From their point of view, the pedagogical problem was to supply the right situation or stimuli for educational growth, and that required a plan, which would take into account the needs of different ages, the possibilities of subject matter and materials, and the problems of present day society.

Although they sympathized warmly with the longing of the Community Schools for freedom from official schedules and courses of study, yet teachers in the *Lichtwarkschule* maintained that an organized curriculum was necessary for the sake of teachers, pupils, and subjects. They asserted that the framework of a curriculum is needed, especially during an educational experiment, so that teachers are not compelled to begin anew each day with no points of orientation or standards of value derived from the experience of others. There must be a definite curriculum for the sake of the pupils, lest the experiment be wasteful of their efforts and too loosely organized to fulfill their real wants. Because of the very richness of subject fields in modern times, it is important that a curriculum be made in advance in order to select the materials of greatest value for particular ages and individual needs.

The teachers of the *Lichtwarkschule* came to these conclusions after two experiments. First, they had tried to use the ordinary *Realschule* curriculum and adapt it to their progressive theories, but it fell short of their ideals. Then they introduced a system of elective courses, such as had found favor in some of the freer private schools. The latter did not prove satisfactory for two reasons. Free electives prevented the formation of class groups and thus worked against the social spirit and fundamental democratic purpose of the school. The courses also tended to scatter the interests of the pupils in various directions, so that it was difficult to develop any unifying or related center of work for individuals or groups. To secure the advantages of group organization and large units of study, the teachers decided to resume the class system and adopt a curriculum offering dominant themes, which could provide a series of work centers for each of the classes.

The new secondary school type, the *Deutsche Oberschule*, seemed created for their purpose, because it was still in the formative stage and its characteristics marked it as a school of the present rather than the past. Latin was optional and the chief foreign language was

English. The main purpose of the *Deutsche Oberschule* was to provide a school course based on social studies that began with the immediate environment in the elementary school and continued in ever-widening circles through the secondary school to reach out into the life of the city, the province, the nation, and the world, both in modern and historical times. The curriculum of this school attempted to obviate the criticism that had frequently been made against German secondary education by those who objected to the amount of time given to the study of the classics and to the predominance of the historical point of view.

Lagarde had said years before, "The older generation tries to win servitors to an abstract ideal. But youth wants to fight for a concrete ideal, to face danger, risk and death. Youth does not want merely to mouth again the food that fed its forefathers. It wants to know the future, for it lives only in relation to the future. Therefore, the aim (of education) is not merely to perpetuate the dreams, thoughts, and achievements of the past, but to foster the forward striving of the life of the present, which has grown out of the past but reaches on into the future. This ideal must grow out of matters of everyday life, for such an ideal is not there just to be discovered, but it exists to help conquer the world and free mankind. Speak to-day the word that must be spoken for to-day. Do not say to-day what men heard yesterday, what they followed then, and subsequently put aside!"

The *Lichtwarkschule* based its plan on these very principles. The faculty was fighting against the burden of ancient languages, history, and tradition that rested on European youth and the mass of obligations weighing on the schools. They wanted freedom to make more of present experiences and to look further into the future. They wished "To make the younger generation aware, in case they do not already feel it plainly themselves, that it is no longer their lot to go forth on beautiful avenues made smooth by their elders and on roads leading to established values and ideals, but that, on the contrary, many of the principles and values of to-day are most questionable." These teachers knew that the immediate crisis in their own nation was indicative of a changing social order throughout the world. They realized that it is the fate of youth in this age to face a future that is filled with new problems. To deal wisely with these the coming generations must not be prejudiced or weighted with

dictates that had their value in a past that is outlived and whose standards may not be unquestioningly applied to the coming era. Youth must be prepared to meet new conditions and to react to untried situations. A changing civilization demands a freshness of attack that cannot be expected from youth overburdened with ancient lore. The school must do something to bring education up to date, so that youth will not be altogether unprepared for the kind of problems it must meet in the present day.

This need is felt strongly in a nation that has passed through defeat and revolution, for there is thought to be great danger that the youth of the country will fall into an abyss of hopelessness and skepticism that will lead to evasion of fundamental issues and pursuit of any distraction that promises escape from reality. The modern world is full of conflicts, and this group of educators believes that youth has a right to expect some positive aid from its elders. Youth does not want dogmatic direction to this road or that, but it does welcome a concrete suggestion that leads the individual to orient himself aright in a confusion of new paths.

It is this guiding basis that the *Lichtwarkschule* is attempting to supply by making *Kulturkunde*, the study of civilization, the center of work for the whole school. Not only by giving the historical background and by developing the causal sequence of events and eras, but also by handling many present day problems concretely and by experiencing community life in the school, they hope to cultivate social understanding or social imagination that can project itself into the feudal period or the reformation with the same clarity that it shows in dealing with questions that concern the new republic. As a matter of fact, German secondary school classes often show much better grasp of remote periods than of the present, but both teachers and curricula in Germany are trying to get a surer grasp on the social and economic problems of to-day. In practice the teachers of the *Lichtwarkschule* find their aim cannot be reached by dealing with sections of subject matter and short assignments in a series of class periods, but they feel the need for selecting problems that require weeks and months to work out in their relationships. By following this arrangement, they discover that the working power of the pupils is greatly increased because of the additional effort they put into the collection, organization and presentation of a quantity of data. Pupils gain a bigger view of the subject and its implications.

A few illustrations from class periods will indicate the type of procedure common in the *Lichtwarkschule*. A class of twelve-year-old boys has recently returned from a journey to the island of Sylt in the North Sea. There the thirty-eight lads spent two weeks with their teacher, who is continuing to use those common experiences in class work. On the walls of the room are many maps, sketches, and paintings made by the pupils during or after the trip. A picture-map of the journey down the Elbe River, a topographical map of the island, and other diagrams showing the region and route followed were made at home by the pupils after they had been given some instruction in the technique of enlarging maps accurately. There are many drawings and paintings of fish seen in the markets and in the waters around the island. A record of the tidal stages was kept during their stay at the seashore. A number of stories of camp life and descriptions of the trip have been written voluntarily.

Now the group is studying the history of the region, its geological formation and place in human affairs. Interest and precision is enhanced by constant reference to facts observed at first hand while on the island or to information gathered later as a result of queries raised then. The class traces the migrations and conquests, which affected the people of Sylt. The teacher points out the strong, independent character of the Frisians, as it was expressed in their local government by "hundreds" and still manifests itself in the restricted power of the ruling house in Holland and in the free spirit of the north Germans. An active interchange of questions and explanations from both pupils and teacher serves to develop various phases of the subject in a relatively short period. Interest is keen and the statements made are not based upon reading of a text book, but upon observation, reflection, and research.

In another group of eleven-year-old boys and girls there are forty-six pupils in a crowded room, none too well supplied with materials. In spite of these limitations, the children show great freedom and self-reliance. They have divided themselves into three groups for the study of different topics: *A Journey from Hamburg to London*, *German Peasant Houses*, and *Stories and Superstitions about Ships*. Each of these subjects has a definite relation to the immediate interests of the children and to fundamental aims the teacher has in mind.

The *Journey to London* is valued by the teacher less for the geo-

graphical facts that may be learned incidentally than for the vivid associations the pupils are making as they think of two modern nations and their possible relations to one another in the exchange of goods and culture. This class has begun the study of English. Their texts give them a prompt introduction to English life and they are already looking forward to a school journey to London, for such a trip is usually made by one of the upper classes.

Those studying the second topic, *German Peasant Houses*, are familiar with the thatched farm houses, which form a conspicuous feature of the northern German landscape and most of them have evidently traveled into other parts of the country with their parents or teachers, where they have seen the different types of houses found in Thuringia, the Black Forest, and elsewhere. The evolution of house construction and design is used by the teacher to point out the essentials of peasant life and rural custom.

The harbor at Hamburg is a never ending source of interest and instruction in the schools of that city. Although the age of steel and steam has robbed sea-faring of some of its romance, the boys and girls of a Hanseatic city find it easy to go back in imagination to the days when sailing vessels and sailors' superstitions created many a thrilling story of ships. Again the immediate aim of the pupils is supplemented by the desire of the teacher to make a historical period vivid and meaningful to the group.

During the hour, the class breaks up into three divisions, a member of each group seeing that his colleagues are supplied with reference books. While two groups study their topics independently, reading, taking notes, and carrying on some discussion among themselves, the third group confers with the teacher, who helps them to outline the report they are preparing and goes over the materials different pupils have found, so that every one's work is recognized and correlated.

In another class, a small group of eighteen-year-old boys and girls are reading literature of the Middle High German period, not for the sake of mastering the medieval language, but in order to gain closer touch with the spirit of that day. They use a text with the original verses on one page and a modern translation opposite. One boy gives a report on *Walther von der Vogelweide*, speaking of the relations of the singers to the nobles, of political verse, and of the wanderings of the minstrels. The class adds information and

furthers the discussion by questions, as does the professor also from his place in the group. Then a boy who has made an individual study of Middle High German, reads aloud the original and the translation with some critical comments. All show respect for the opinions of the teacher, and some dependence on him for clarification of their half-formed judgments. The discussion is enriched by having the point of view of both sexes set forth.

From such examples one can see how faithfully the *Lichtwarkschule is* following a pedagogical principle new to German secondary schools. They are obliterating some subject divisions by centering class work around large units of study in the social sciences. Emphasis on facts has given place to attention to relationships. Encyclopedic information is in disfavor and intensive type studies have been substituted for extensive treatment of subject matter. The teachers in this school are not willing to give a pupil the bare historical evidence of the growth of civilization in facts which one can look at as from outside, but they are concerned that every pupil shall place himself in the midst of the epoch, identifying himself with the people of that time imaginatively, becoming sensitive to the spirit of the period, as well as gaining factual information. They wish to have each pupil experience in some vital way the characteristics of important ages, so that his mind will have a positive relation to cultural developments and will discover values therein, which lead him on to make judgments and assume responsibilities that prove the worth of the material studied. These men really believe that the youth of to-day will mold the future and they hope that their teachings will help the next generation to work on a higher plane than did their forefathers. They are not fearful that the good from the past will be lost or neglected, because they find that youth hungers for the old as well as the new in many realms of knowledge.

School journeys in the upper classes are generally pilgrimages to art shrines from the Middle Ages. Cathedrals, castles, town halls, and peasant cottages alike draw the older pupils back to an era when their forefathers seem to have had a hold on steadfast principles in religion, art and community organization, so that the life of that time has been beautifully expressed in enduring forms. It is a curious anomaly, which appears to contradict certain progressive theories of education, that youth left free in a modern school should turn to the Middle Ages for esthetic satisfaction and guidance toward stand-

ards of value, instead of seizing on the present with enthusiasm. This may be due to the influence of the Youth Movement, or it may be a commentary on the spiritual poverty of the modern age, but it is more likely to be an evidence of the failure of the academic teacher, trained in classicism, to grasp current problems and lead the way toward economic, social and artistic studies centering in present day life.

When the *Lichtwarkschule* proposed to accept the social studies as the center of their curriculum, the question at once arose as to how well that plan would accord with the interests of other subject fields. Granted that history, geography, and the native language would fit into the scheme very well, there yet remained doubt as to whether science, arts, and foreign languages would receive their due if the demand for unity was pressed upon all subjects of the curriculum. The outcome has been gratifying, not only to educators who stand for unity, but also to the subject teachers themselves.

While it is true that the sciences can be developed on the technical side almost entirely without reference to their social consequences, yet the story of civilization is quite incomplete without the record of scientific advance, so *Kulturkunde* must include much teaching of science. The centering of the *Lichtwarkschule* curriculum has given a new meaning to distinct scientific courses, which are studied not only for the sake of giving knowledge of scientific principles and techniques, but also to point out the material basis for human progress, or the interaction between man and his environment and resultant changes in his philosophy. Just as increasing control over natural forces brings all parts of the world into closer connection, so recognition of universal laws of science gives to separate nations a unified basis of understanding. The countries of Europe may differ in government, language, and customs, but as Georg Brandes once said, "In physics, in chemistry, in medicine, and in surgery there is a common European consciousness." In the *Lichtwarkschule* the socializing side of science teaching is held to be as important as its informational and technical values.

Arts and crafts also find many points of contact with the curriculum center. Old theories of the training of eye and hand have been discarded and art work is valued chiefly as a means of expressing ideas held in the memory or developed imaginatively. Many phases of school life and all excursions into the city or rural districts sug-

gest themes for graphic representation. Sketch books are carried along and come back well filled with detailed drawings to be developed further at leisure. The study of historical epochs requires search for pictures as well as facts, and many illustrations are made, which record accurate details and express the feeling of the young artist for the life of the period and region. Drawing is regarded as an important tool to help organize thought. Many plans are drawn up for execution in craft work, and maps, charts, and diagrams are constantly used as illustrative material to accompany reports. Beautiful stage settings are prepared and costumes designed for occasional dramatic performances.

Since English has been the only required foreign language in the *Lichtwarkschule*, which follows the *Deutsche Oberschule* course, the judgment of English teachers on the new curriculum is worth considering. They do not regard technical proficiency as the one goal of language study, but they look upon a foreign language as a means of gaining understanding for the culture of another country. In the eyes of educators, who value most the study of native culture, that experience is not complete until the pupil has gone outside of his own country and become familiar with another culture that presents elements in contrast to his own. In the *Lichtwarkschule* this interpretation of the purpose of foreign language study influences the plan of the course in each class. Ten-year-old pupils begin with songs, games, dramatics, conversation, and easy readings that introduce them directly to the ways of the Anglo-Saxon world. The middle groups alternate study of simple texts in English literature and history with descriptions of present day life and memorization of plays and verse.

The last class in the upper school rounds out the course with a stay of a few weeks in England. From beginning to end the goal is not merely to speak and write English correctly, but to understand the ways of the English people, not in unfavorable contrast to German customs, but with some appreciation of the value that lies in diversity of language and culture, and with some knowledge of the causes underlying such differences.

Music finds its place readily in the unified curriculum, for it does not remain bound to singing alone or to technical proficiency, but it carries pupils through the stages of musical history and helps them to discover in each musical form another expression of the spirit of

the period. Classes are led through the singing of folk songs and appreciation of the classics to enjoyment of modern composers. Technical training keeps pace with musical expression so that the pupils' compositions frequently have merits of their own and the chorus and orchestra work is of high standard.

Dramatic art is often a means of enriching the social studies. The life of different eras and regions, as portrayed in literature or as imagined by the pupils, may furnish the background for a play produced in impromptu fashion for a single class, or more elaborately presented for the parents or entire school. The speaking chorus, similar to the chorus of the Greek drama, is effectively used for group recitation of verse in literature classes, as well as for dramatic performances. A class of boys and girls, preparing a play for the entertainment of their parents, directed the rhythmic movement of the actors entirely by the chorus, which spoke the lines of the poem dramatized with such feeling and harmony that the effect was like that of a musical accompaniment. In the minds of German educators, the speaking chorus has two values. It raises the level of the drama by placing attention on the spoken word, which is the paramount factor, but one too often neglected and overshadowed by stagey effects in the acting or setting of a modern play. The speaking chorus also unites the players into one group, where each member is as indispensable as is each instrument in an orchestra. Teachers at the *Lichtwarkschule* see a great social value in this unity, which makes many a play truly the production of a group, rather than of outstanding individuals. For children and adolescents they find this concerted type of dramatic expression an excellent means of relaxing mental inhibitions, which tend to cause muscular contractions that impair the speaking voice. They attribute physical gain and poise to the habits of deep breathing, relaxation and self-forgetfulness cultivated in members of the speaking chorus.

Physical education does not attempt to make connection with the curriculum center, except in the general sense that it aims at a balanced type of physical development, which seeks to strengthen the body without strain, to quicken the mind, and cultivate the spirit of coöperation and fair play. The *Lichtwarkschule* is favorably located on the edge of a park with extensive playing fields a few rods away. Pupils change their outer garments at the school and lose no time in getting out to the field. They are very independent and vigorous

in play, so that a single instructor is able to handle large numbers comprising several classes. A brief drill is given to the whole group at the beginning of a period and then they break up into teams for different games.

The *Lichtwarkschule* seems to have come through the first stages of reform with clear goals and definite plans for attaining its ideals. The atmosphere is that of an institution fully alive to its problems, but not yet quite calm in its efforts to solve them. Perhaps cool certainty is not to be expected for a time. To the observer, there seems to be one flaw in the organization of the school's work. Since the classes are attempting to work with large units closely related, it would seem only logical to discard the old time schedule with its fifty minute periods and ten or fifteen minute intermissions in favor of a daily program less frequently interrupted by the gong and changing classes. In spite of their reorganized curriculum, teachers and pupils alike show the same signs of haste and unsettled effort which characterized the old school. Unity in subject matter should have as its corollary continuity in treatment, and this could easily be secured in the *Lichtwarkschule* by making a few schedule changes. The teachers seem to be still laboring under the delusion that pupils can only concentrate well for forty-five minutes, entirely forgetting that new avenues of interest and varied methods of work make it possible to expand the normal child's span of effort considerably beyond this limit.

The second school is a pre-war type that has successfully developed a curriculum innovation of importance and one that is of particular interest to Americans, because it emphasizes the principle of flexibility and adaptation to individuals. The plan was devised by Dr. Sebald Schwarz, formerly head of the *Oberrealschule* in Lübeck and now superintendent of schools for that city and outlying districts. Within the regular framework of the *Oberrealschule* curriculum, has been placed a "core and course" system, similar to the sequence and elective system of American high schools. It provides for a core of obligatory subjects and elective courses of two kinds—those which may be taken in consecutive series and others, which are single units that may be studied only one semester.

Since the *Oberrealschule* is the most modern of the pre-war secondary schools, its curriculum basis was fairly satisfactory at the outset. Science and modern languages hold the first place. Latin is

not obligatory, although pupils preparing to enter certain university courses usually elect it. The encyclopedic character of secondary school curricula is retained and no special attempt is made to offer wide, free selection or to concentrate study around particular centers. European custom requires secondary pupils to follow a specified, comprehensive program of studies so well rounded that no subject is omitted which may be needed later, and the total assures to every graduate the essentials of a liberal education. Sequences are so planned that major subjects, whether scheduled for one day a week or six days, recur in different years with different emphasis throughout the nine years of the secondary school course. Nothing is likely to be dropped or entirely forgotten up to the day of graduation, when a comprehensive examination checks up on the student's entire school career.

Logically this scheme is excellent, but actually it has two weaknesses, which Dr. Schwarz sought to correct when he introduced the core and course system into his school. His first aim is to contrive a system that will be flexible enough to meet the individual needs of the pupils more satisfactorily. In other words, he is ready to put the pupil at the center of the educational process and let subject matter organization take second place. His second aim is to have the school courses offer more direct preparation for the needs of real life. Not only the schools in which classics predominates, but also those with expanded scientific and modern language courses, are inclined to preserve an air of detachment from practical purposes. As a part of their exclusive social and academic tradition, the secondary schools have preferred to remain purely cultural and non-utilitarian. Thereby they lose two opportunities. First of all, they fail to interest most of their pupils, for youth's response to abstract theories and organized subject matter is not so strong as to concrete applications. Second, a considerable percentage of their pupils drop out two-thirds of the way through the course with their liberal education incomplete and no practical basis for the vocations they are to take up immediately.

The attempt to correct both these difficulties with a system of required core subjects and elective courses does secure a certain gain in flexibility, particularly for the upper classes. The change is so moderate that it does not endanger thoroughness. The elective element is scarcely perceptible in the lower classes, where a solid

foundation of necessary subject matter remains. Throughout the nine years of the school course, important subjects are alternately required and elective, so that continuity is preserved. For example, biology is required in the first and third classes, elective in fourth and fifth, again required in the sixth and seventh, elective in the eighth, and required in the ninth class. The irregularity that might be feared when such a subject is taught to groups with unlike preparation, some having elected every biology course, is minimized either by sectioning or by treating each year's work from a special standpoint. Most subjects are scheduled with a minimum number of hours for the better students and a maximum required for weaker individuals, so that the persons best able to profit by wider opportunities are the ones left free to elect the greater number of special courses.

The very fact that these latter courses are self-chosen gives an added zest to the work both in class discussion and individual preparation. Most teachers relax their authoritative classroom manner when conducting an elective course, and the change seems a relief to them as well as to their pupils. This is a significant tendency, because informality has been so rare in the secondary schools of Germany that any sign of it is refreshing. Of late years there has been a conscious attempt to cultivate the activity method in all higher schools, but it has consisted chiefly in allowing pupils to perform their own experiments in the science laboratory instead of watching the instructor's demonstration, and in change from the question and answer recitation used in lower classes or the lecture method in upper classes, to a more extensive use of discussion for the development of the topic of the day. The elective courses in Lübeck mark a step toward freer classroom atmosphere and individual organization of school work.

The Cathedral School was unfavorably housed in old quarters, which were so crowded that two adjacent buildings had to be used for classes but the original structure is now enlarged. The enrollment exceeds seven hundred pupils and classes average thirty or forty, even when double and triple sections are organized. Lübeck has adopted a selective examination, which admits successful applicants of high standing to the secondary schools without payment of fees and allows pupils of the next rank to waive tuition also, if their school record for a year is satisfactory. Thus a considerable per-

centage of the enrollment of this *Oberrealschule* has come to be made up of boys from poor families, whose parents want them to have a liberal education, but also one that will prepare them for practical life, because, for many of them, the likelihood of university study is less than the probability of employment when they leave the secondary school. In this city the boys and their parents can choose among four types of secondary schools. Applications for the *Oberrealschule* have increased yearly, while the enrollment of the classical *Gymnasium* has declined. This indicates the support the lower and middle classes give a secondary institution favoring school reform and shaping its curriculum and organization to their needs.

This particular school is also distinguished for the strength of its Parents' Association. Ordinarily the elementary school has led the way in bringing parents, teachers, and pupils together. The Cathedral School has developed social spirit in many ways. There are the voluntary courses in which boys and teachers meet for coöperative study. There is the responsibility of the student council for the whole school and of older boys for the welfare and recreation of their younger comrades. There are the many school journeys when teachers and pupils learn to live together as equals, sharing thrilling experiences and growing in mutual understanding. There are the school festivals, where pupils entertain their parents and bring them closer to the life of the school. There are the meetings of the parents and teachers, where problems affecting both family and school are openly discussed and closer coöperation is sought. Altogether such a school as the *Domschule* in Lübeck represents sound reform in several phases of secondary education.

Every new type of school of real value develops out of an acute social and economic situation, demanding new forms and institutions for a changing society. Practically all of the Community Schools in Germany sprang up first in centers where poverty and social discontent were greatest. Experimental schools set up at universities as mere laboratories have never developed a new type of school, for a real school is the product of community needs.

In Neukölln near Berlin is an *Aufbauschule* that has come near to realizing the Community School idea in higher education. This institution is important, not because it follows the organization plan of the *Aufbauschule* in some departments or the curriculum of the *Deutsche Oberschule* in its classes, nor alone because it promises to

realize the ideal of the *Einheitsschule*—one common school complete in all departments from the kindergarten through the high school—but because the life of the school is infused with a new social spirit, which expresses the life of the community. The school is outstanding as a pioneer in educational experiment and reform on the secondary level, just as its director, Dr. Fritz Karsen, is a leader in the progressive school movement in Europe.

Most of the pupils in this school are children of the Berlin proletariat. They are freed from bourgeois standards of morals, religion, politics, and culture. As a rule, the parents are little concerned about the children's education, nor are they able to contribute much of positive value to it, but they do transmit to their offspring an attitude of dissatisfaction with the present order. Quite frequently the parents consider their children's schooling from the standpoint of economic gain and, not being deterred by any cultural or social prejudice, they want to take them out of school whenever instruction promises no practical results. At first, the children themselves show little interest in forms of literature, art, or science, except those that have some direct application to their life problems and those of their families. Their cultural interests are narrow and their experiences limited. The ethical code of these children rests on the law of solidarity of the lower classes. Very often this amounts to little more than the words of radical political slogans or moral phrases. It is easy to understand how much need there is for group consciousness as an assurance of strength and relief from the daily struggle for life and work in which the parents are engaged. Physically the children are somewhat below normal, because of their heritage and the lack of proper care and nourishment.

The *Aufbauschule* accepts pupils first at thirteen years of age after they have completed seven years of the public elementary school. Other departments receive entrants of nine and ten years. Usually they have come from one of the old authoritative schools and are unaccustomed to critical, independent participation in class work, but are schooled chiefly in obedience. Quite a number of the pupils in Karsen's school come from neighboring Community Schools, where they have acquired that desirable consciousness of self and consideration for their comrades, which are the prerequisites for collective work.

The method of admission is in keeping with the general spirit of

the Community Schools. Pupils are accepted on probation until they have shown beyond question that they really belong to the group and the school. The criterion is not the amount of knowledge the pupil possesses nor any objective test of his intellectual capacity, but it is the *whole child* with all of his personality traits and social worth. A pupil is often retained in a group, even though his mental ability appears somewhat below average, provided he stands out prominently in some line of work and has thus made himself essential to the life of the class. He is retained, even if he has no outstanding power in any field of work, but is able to stimulate others in the development of good social adjustments.

In the whole life of the school the principle of collectivity and coöperative effort is dominant. When the children first enter they are grouped tentatively for a few weeks or months and are allowed almost total freedom of activity in order to let them find their abilities and develop a little intellectual and social self-assurance. The judgment of the group is the standard by which the work and conduct of the individual is measured. In the second year more attention is paid to the logical organization of subject matter, but this is not carried far. The continuity of interest in some unit of work rather than the logical development of a school subject is the controlling factor in the selection of materials for study. In many beginning classes there seems to the observer to be the utmost confusion, except for occasional flashes of lucidity and intense interest. In all probability this initial stage of apparent chaos is largely due to reaction from the formal work many pupils have been accustomed to in elementary schools of the older type, where freedom was practically unknown. Proceeding upward from class to class, there becomes evident gradual gain in self-control and the emergence of the objective, scientific spirit, which serves as a guide to the order of work chosen by the group and even determines the method. Indecision, superficiality, and ill-chosen activities appear to give way before thoughtful group decisions. An order of procedure in which each individual has a place in accordance with his talents, is well developed by the end of the fourth year.

This order of procedure covers all details in the execution of any project. It outlines the general form and purpose of each undertaking, the use of the various school subjects, the division of labor among members of the group, the means of acquiring and using

materials, the need for reports upon single phases of the work, the place of the individual report each pupil has to make upon his part of the project, and the final coöperative statement of the class concerning the work accomplished in the various subject matter fields.

Each class makes its own plans of procedure. In the first year these usually cover one week's work and the span of time is increased in each succeeding year as the pupils gain power to foresee their own needs and the possibilities of subject matter. In the last two classes plans for the work of the entire year are made out and are adhered to closely once they have been thoroughly discussed and accepted. In the younger groups the plans for units of work cross section the subjects, while in the upper classes the plans are usually organized by subjects, but with a dominant theme interrelating them.

These plans are made in class and fully discussed by pupils and teachers, who attempt to keep in mind the main objective of the whole school, which is to give the pupils a many sided appreciation of present day civilization and to prepare them for active and successful participation in the affairs of the modern world. To insure attainment of these aims, the school as a whole cannot leave decision on class plans entirely to the separate groups, but it must have some power of controlling the distribution of important social studies through the course. Thus there comes to be a total school plan, which is necessary to avoid confusion and an undue amount of duplication. Teachers and pupils are aware of this outline when they go to work on a single class plan. But they know, too, that the comprehensive scheme of work for the school is flexible, just as their weekly, monthly, or yearly class plans are subject to change as the necessity of changing situations may require.

School books of the usual type are little used in the content subjects, but are employed, of course, in the languages. The materials of instruction are acquired from two chief sources—observation of actual conditions and things, and from references free from pedagogic intent—scientific journals, statistics, atlases, historical documents, and literary and critical works of a high order. The school library, which was rarely used in the old German secondary school, has come into its own and is one of the most used laboratories of the school. It is administered by the pupils and that is not an unmixed advantage, but what the pupil-librarians lack in efficiency,

they make up in enthusiasm and good will. The libraries of the community and city are at the disposal of teachers and pupils, but general libraries in Germany are not yet arranged for use by young people, so that they must depend upon their school library for reference materials.

Classes in the Neukölln school are conducted very differently from the typical class in either German or American secondary schools. The pupils are usually seated around a table when the time for discussion comes. A member of the group, who is probably the one most capable in the field of study for the day, presides over the class. In accordance with the plan of procedure a number of pupils are ready to carry the burden of the discussion and furnish the material or theoretical basis for the subject of the day. The teacher is a member of the group, but participates only as do the others. He asks questions, not as an official examiner, but as one of the class, who wants to know something. He is quizzed, as are the others, if it appears he can be of assistance in solving any of the problems that arise. A summary or group record of the day's proceedings is kept and it includes criticisms upon the work of the leaders and the progress of the class.

Practice and review are not directed by the teacher. The report of each day's work is read at the next meeting and corrected by the whole class. Frequently, however, this report, which should serve for practice and review, is read in a perfunctory fashion and approved without much thought. On the other hand, some classes listen attentively to the summary of their previous work, criticize it anew and make it the point of departure for attack on new problems. In modern languages and in mathematics great care is devoted to the form of the report and to exact expression. Corrected work in these subjects is copied by all the pupils and becomes the basis of review.

In every class the procedure is much the same and consists of work by the group for the group. There is no fear that one will profit by the achievement of another. On the contrary, every inducement is offered for the exchange of knowledge and ideas. The daily class records, which finally become a part of the year's record, consist of individual reports on special phases, of subject matter reports for the whole group, statements of special activities and specific criticisms. All of these are productive exercises carried out

in a socialized situation. Review and practice are by-products of the group work. Marks and reports have been discontinued, because they reflect the pedagogical methods of an authoritative state. Pupils get an estimate of their own achievements and worth from the kindly, but definite and helpful criticisms of their comrades and teachers. Few students from this school apply for university entrance, but all graduates are required to pass the state examination, which qualifies them for study at any German university.

This school has considerable latitude in making the plans of work for all classes. It is not required to follow the General Suggestions of the Prussian Ministry of Education relative to secondary schools. An effort has been made during the years of the school's existence, to find out what fields of life and study are of greatest interest and worth to the pupils of this particular community. Naturally the social milieu from which these pupils come has played an important rôle in this matter and choices are made, which might not occur in schools located elsewhere. The following fields of experience have been found valuable and interesting:

THE HOME: family, personal experiences, work shop, factory and household labor.

THE CITY: the street with its varied life, commerce, transportation, police, welfare organizations, etc.

THE STATE: institutions, which affect the lives of proletarian children and their future as citizens; law and legislation, governing bodies, elections, rights of citizens, tax system, postal service, transportation, organization of economic life, modern technology, the state and industry.

THE SCHOOL: organization and support, conferences and self-government, the school garden, library, museum and theater.

SCHOOL EXCURSIONS: home, province, mountains, sea, other cities.

IMAGINATIVE LIFE: problems dealing largely with the reorganization of the above phases of social life; creative expression in arts and crafts.

Many of the same problems recur again and again in the school, but each time from a new point of view or with more systematic treatment. Not only do the pupils of the upper classes continue the direct observation method of the lower classes, but they also devote

much time to scientific literature and to the fundamental principles underlying the subject at hand. Materials of civic value stand in the foreground in all classes. Concentration of instructional materials is not an artificial teaching method for handling complex units of work, but it is looked upon as the only means of relating in a thoughtful way the whole activity of the pupils to their future work.

The classes are organized in groups, whose function it is to direct their own work with some advice from the teacher and the whole student body, faculty, and parents are organized as a school community to look after the general affairs of the whole school. There are also many pupil committees selected to take care of special problems. Authority for all these groups goes back to the entire school, rather than to the principal or the faculty. The school constitution was made by the pupils and important matters come to them for decision. No problem of school life is an affair for the faculty alone to control. A representative of the pupils is present at all faculty meetings. Problems of discipline are discussed openly in the class and before the whole school, if necessary. Naturally the system did not always function as well as it does now. The boys had to *learn* to govern themselves, but this is precisely what the school is for. The rules pupils make for their own classes are very much like the regulations adults would make for them, but they have the advantage of originating in the will of the group. In many classes, however, times come when little attention is paid to the rules posted, much to the detriment of the work at hand and the character of the pupils. The student council organizes and carries out school festivals and excursions lasting several days. In one instance, they made a survey of the social and economic condition of all pupils in the school and worked over the data secured, in order to make requests for support in their work to city and state officials and the general public.

Up to the present the parents have not played as important a rôle in this school as have those connected with some of the Community Schools for lower grades. Most German parents have not yet acquired the temerity to help run a secondary school, for that has long been a sacred province of the state officials and learned professors. A few of the parents at Neukölln have given practical aid in work on the *Landheim* and its garden, but they do not feel qualified to give

much advice about a level of school work, which they themselves have never known.

One cannot imagine a poorer building for a progressive school than the one in which the Neukölln *Aufbauschule* is still housed. The lack of adequate laboratory space is a very serious handicap inasmuch as the curriculum emphasizes natural sciences. Both the gymnasium and playground are quite insufficient for the school enrollment. In fact, there is nothing conducive to the development of a progressive school, except the social and economic need for one.

The time has at last come when the city has recognized the service of this new school and has approved the construction of a large plant, which will house about twenty-five hundred children, ranging from the kindergarten through the secondary school. This building when completed in 1929 will be the only school of its kind in Germany. Permission has been given to organize a common school, *Einheitsschule,* where the children can be educated in the spirit of the new educational ideals throughout a twelve or thirteen year course. This will do away with the present handicap that exists when the school receives children, who have attended the traditional elementary schools for seven years, and attempts to reëducate them for free intellectual and spiritual life.

The new school is being constructed on a plot of fifty acres in a suburban colony where five thousand dwellings for working people will be built in the near future. The plans show a quarter circle arrangement of the whole plant, which consists of three major units—kindergarten-primary, intermediate, and upper school. Each will be arranged and fitted out in accordance with the educational demands of these groups. The sections for the primary and intermediate units are only one story high and have a shed roof. They are lighted from above and from the east. The one story plan makes it easier for the small children to get out of the building and onto the playground. The classrooms of the primary unit are larger than in the other units, in order to allow more floor space and room to play. The furniture is moveable. For these lower classes there are special playrooms, restrooms, workshops, an assembly hall, and a lunch room.

In the transept separating the intermediate classrooms from those of the primary are workshops and laboratories of varied types. Provision is made for drawing, painting, sewing, cooking, and work

in metal, wood, paper and cardboard. The one-story section for the middle school has a special room for each subject. This part of the school will also have its own theater, assembly hall, and gymnasium. The section of the building devoted to the upper classes has four stories and contains all the different laboratories and work rooms demanded by an activity school, and each subject has a special room, equipped with references, illustrative materials and apparatus. In this school as in a few other buildings erected recently there is a conscious effort to make the inner and outer school environment reflect the types of activity now considered valuable.

CHAPTER XI

The Lietz Country Home Schools

"Doch ein getreuer, steter Sinn,
Der wandelt Licht zum Lichte hin."
PARZIFAL

WHEN reforms sweep through the educational system of a country, one may always be certain that in some corner of that land schools have existed which upheld the new ideals and practices long before they became popular in the average school. This was true in Germany to a very limited extent in the public schools and in a few private schools. Among the latter is a group called the *Landerziehungsheime* or Country Home Schools, where the new spirit in education was particularly marked from the beginning of the twentieth century.

The man who founded the first of these schools was Dr. Herman Lietz, who has been called the "German Pestalozzi." Many of his educational ideals were similar to those of the great Swiss educator. In spite of repeated adversities, the immediate success of Lietz's schools has been considerable. The L.E.H., *Landerziehungsheime,* belong to the vanguard of Germany's "modern schools." For thirty years a little band of idealists have labored to make their utopian dream of the school into a living reality. They have established "communities of youth" in the heart of forested hills or close to little villages, so that boys and girls might know rural life intimately and share the labor and festivals of the peasant folk. During his lifetime Lietz founded four such schools and his followers established a dozen more in Germany and Switzerland. Since the war three institutions have been added to the Lietz Foundation and several independent ventures have increased to twenty or more the number of such progressive private schools, which call themselves *Landerziehungsheime,* Country Home Schools, *Freie Schulgemeinde,* Free School Communities, or similar names. All have much in common with the Country Day Schools, which have been

established near many American cities; but the fact that these German schools are boarding schools, allows them even greater scope for giving their pupils a well-rounded education. In many respects they are similar to the type of boarding school common in the eastern part of the United States, but they differ from such American schools, in that most of the latter emphasize college preparation, while the German L.E.H. stress the social and non-academic phases of life in their School Homes. They are secondary schools receiving pupils from the ages of nine to nineteen years. Occasionally a school is found with a primary department for younger children, even those of nursery age, but these classes are small and the standard of work seldom creditable. Since the passing of the *Grundschule* law requiring all children under ten years to attend the public elementary schools, primary classes in private schools are discouraged.

The idea of the L.E.H. is the resultant of many forces. Its form and ideals can be traced back to Plato's and da Feltre's theories of education, to Goethe's "pedagogic province" or to Fichte's plan for revival of the German nation after the Napoleonic wars. The early school communities established by Basedow, Francke, Pestalozzi, and Fröbel have their bearing on practices developed in the L.E.H. Many of the older German *gymnasia* made home life in the family of the professors an important part of school experience for out-of-town pupils. *Schulpforta*, not far from Jena, has long maintained some of the procedures advocated by the L.E.H. But the direct influence in their establishment was Lietz's enthusiasm for English school life as he saw it in Abbotsholme in the nineties, in a school that Cecil Reddie has made famous as one of the first "new schools" in England. Much that Lietz brought back to Germany and incorporated in his schools is common to all English "public schools" and to boarding school life in general. But Dr. Reddie had emphasized several distinctive features that were particularly needed in Germany.

The L.E.H. became pioneers in certain phases of educational reform that are now being widely accepted in schools of all types throughout Germany. Some of the leaders were active in the Youth Movement and their schools give full outlet to youthful interest in sports and self-expression through the arts. The same men were usually severe critics of the course German culture and politics were taking at the opening of the twentieth century. Their schools were

a protest against the over-industrialization of a people whose habits had been shaped by age-long labor on the land. They distrusted the governmental pressure that was then holding the German empire together and they began to work for a democratic spirit in the school that might help to bring genuine social unity and human understanding among the divided castes of the nation. They protested also against the extremes of intellectualism and classicism that German universities were forcing upon the secondary schools. They were defenders of youth's right to relief from the burden of cultural traditions and to a reasonable degree of freedom for self-expression and self-rule. Without going to the extreme of naturalism and individualism advocated by Rousseau's romantic followers, the founders of the L.E.H. were still insistent on freeing a few years of adolescence from conventional restrictions, so that the innate qualities of individual personality might have space to unfold.

They were particularly eager to have their pupils live in close touch with country folk and to absorb from them the fundamental peasant virtues of simplicity, industry, and frugality, by sharing the same labor and observing genuine folkways in the School Home. Having rooted their school life in the native customs of the Teutonic race, the teachers cultivated the arts, crafts, and sciences in which Germans had made some distinguished contribution. This national emphasis was a conscious effort to get away from the mania for things foreign that had prevailed among the intelligentsia during the latter part of the nineteenth century to such an extent that they treated with scorn the work of any German author or artist, which did not bear the clear stamp of French, English, Oriental, or Greek influence. The L.E.H. were determined to build schools and culture that would be indigenous to German soil and true to German character, instead of merely multiplying imitations of alien civilizations.

In order to fulfill their educational and social ideals better than can be done in the regular day schools, the L.E.H. have chosen the environment for each school with particular care. They believe that the setting in which a child spends twenty-four hours a day during the formative years of his life has more potence in shaping his ideas and character than any amount of instruction. Whether one goes into the schools in mid-winter when they lie among snow covered hills, or in midsummer, when all life in the country is at

its height, the situation of each school is full of unique interest and charm. The founders stressed the importance of choosing each school site with reference to the ages of the pupils who live there. Previously, in discussing the *Landschulheime* some mention was made of the geo-psychic factor—that is, the effect of certain landscapes upon developing child nature. The Lietz homes seem particularly well chosen from this standpoint and also with regard to the social environment.

The school for the youngest children stands in gently rolling country. It is an unpretentious country estate, whose wide gates look down a village street lined with varicolored cottages. No vehicle rattles over the cobblestones except an occasional ox cart. Only the tinkle of the bell in the cobbler's shop or the hours sounded from the church tower disturb the stillness. Children go by carrying on their heads great pans of cake to be baked in the ovens of the community bakeshop. Behind the houses runs a canal, on whose grassy banks flocks of geese stand all day long. In the morning the school children see the villagers go out to their fields. In the evening they watch them trudging home beside their laden carts. The life of the community is like an open book that lies outspread before the eyes of the children and belongs to them. When a festival is at hand, the village musicians march up the street and play in the school courtyard, while the children gather about to dance and sing. When a carnival sets up its tents across the bridge, the whole school goes down to share the amusements of the peasants. Their own school is a miniature village with stalls, barns, and tool shed, facing the same courtyard where the children play and across which they run from class to class. The schoolroom windows are always open to the sights and sounds of farm life. Behind the manor house where the children live, flows the same stream that parallels the village street. It turns the wheel of a mill which grinds into flour the grain peasants and schoolboys alike bring in from their fields. Across a footbridge lie the gardens, where each child plants and tends his own little patch or works in the school garden that supplies quantities of food for the table. The pupils, as well as the peasants, have harvest festivals, when school is dismissed for the day and every one goes out to bring in the hay or potatoes. Their seasons are marked by the same events as those of the villagers and their interests are much alike. The leaders of the L.E.H. may say very truly that children

who pass three or four years in such an environment are "rooted in the native soil" and their minds are stored with impressions that remain vivid throughout life.

The three Lietz schools for intermediate classes are each different in setting and each has its own suitability to the needs of adolescent boys. The oldest school is far from the railroad and highway, half hidden in the depths of a pine forest, but overlooking a fertile valley where the spires of two or three churches mark tiny villages in the distance. There are fields and stalls and shops for real labor, because this school is so remote that it must be a self-contained community supplying most of its own needs. Behind the school buildings lies a wilderness of forested hills that thrills young hearts with the possibility of adventure and awes them with its menacing solitudes, so that the boys draw closer together for support and comradeship. This was the home best loved, perhaps, by Dr. Lietz and it is here at Haubinda that he lies buried in the heart of the Thuringian forest.

A second school for the intermediate age is located in a delightful castle near Weimar. Rose arbors and wide lawns make a charming atmosphere in harmony with the effete traditions of a region that boasts of having been the center of German culture in the days of Goethe and Schiller and which still has real claims to that distinction. The school is somewhat remote from the world, for the adjacent village is small. The setting does not seem to accord fully with the austere ideal Lietz had in mind when choosing the desirable school situation for adolescent boys, but there is a reason for the difference in this case. The shade of contrast between this school at Ettersburg and the one at Haubinda is due to the fact that the latter ordinarily receives boys who expect to remain in the L.E.H. for their full school course, while the former receives lads of foreign birth and those who will probably attend these schools only a few years. During their brief stay it is important for them to have easy access to the sources of German culture which lie near at hand in Weimar, Erfurt, Jena, and Eisenach.

The third school for intermediate groups is the one at Buchenau, described later in this chapter. Every feature there is in full harmony with Lietz's educational ideals of freedom, simplicity, and close connection with the life of the German people.

For older boys there has long been a school high up on a hill

overlooking the Rhön valley. This castle was once the seat of the Bishop of Fulda, and its ramparts and spacious halls are still suggestive of great ages of the past. The isolation of the school does not make it inaccessible, for the railway that looks like a toy far below, carries one to several important western German cities in a short time. Less grand but more isolated is the new home for older boys, which has recently been established on Spiekeroog, an island in the North Sea.

Quite regardless of the arrangement for segregating pupils of different ages, which has been often challenged by critics of the L.E.H. there is much to be said in favor of the advantages to health and experience when a pupil spends his school years in different regions of his native country. Change of scene and climate is usually stimulating physically and mentally. A boy who passes nine years of his school life in successive Country Home Schools comes to know the villages, the seaside, the mountains and the forests of Germany almost as if each lay in his native province. That is a value not to be treated lightly in a country that is working for national understanding and unity, trying to build a democracy that will wipe out the memory of decades of enforced union, when the German empire was not held together by the will of the people. Sectional feeling is not yet obliterated nor are the old rivalries of a hundred German principalities and duchies entirely forgotten, but educators hope the present generation will grow up in a spirit of genuine unity.

The purpose and life of the Country Home Schools is best revealed by following the course of a day's activities at Buchenau. Imagine that it is late June in central Germany. The sun is dropping behind the hills and the Thuringian valleys are filled with the fragrance of new mown hay. Slow-moving oxen draw creaking wains piled so high that the sweet-smelling grass catches and clings to the overhanging branches of apple trees beside the road. The calls of the peasants mingle with the tinkle of bells from a herd of goats grazing on the hill outside the village. Like a fairytale picture, the village rises from the valley, with its gay-colored cottages climbing up the slopes to a hill-top crowned with three castles. One frowns down grimly behind its moat and thick walls. Another wafts mystery and romance from every pinnacle of its slender turrets. The third

spreads its low wings like welcoming arms to a troupe of boys that go tumbling and laughing across the wide lawn to vanish for the night within the depths of the old house.

Bedtime comes soon after sun-down, for the day in a L.E.H. begins early. Before six o'clock in summer the boys spring out of bed, dress lightly, and are off for a run in the morning air. With a teacher beside them they race across the meadows and through a forest path that brings them back to the school. They are under the showers and into their clothes in a few minutes. Most of them wear sandals, short trousers so that their knees are bare, and soft collars open at the throat. For sports and work in the fields they often strip to the waist so that their bodies are browned by the sun. Neither style nor care for their clothes checks them in vigorous activities, and the boys give an impression of freshness and fitness.

By half-past six they have scattered to their first class and there is no sign of sleepiness among the groups in schoolrooms and laboratories. The breakfast bell rings at seven-fifteen and everyone is ready to enjoy a hearty meal of porridge, black bread, and cocoa. Three forty-five minute periods follow and at ten-fifteen there is a long break for a mid-morning lunch, for putting rooms in order and for free play. A double period completes the morning school session and a hearty noon dinner follows. After an hour for rest, the boys are ready for the afternoon work, which begins at two o'clock. In a large school, the groups may be divided, one half going to sports and one half to perform some kind of practical labor. In a small school, these activities occur on alternate days. There is nothing unusual about the athletics, except that football and baseball are lacking and other team games take their place, but the labor the boys perform is of exceptional interest and worth.

The groups scatter to workshops, gardens, and barnyards. One master leads a gang down the hill to hoe the potato field. Another takes his crew to the valley meadow to rake the hay and load the wains. Some smaller lads go back into the woods alone where they are digging caves, building houses in trees, and setting up tents where they will play Indians and cowboys and have many thrilling adventures. By four o'clock every group is ready to drop work or play and come racing up to the house for thick slices of rye bread and jugs of cocoa. The cave men and Indians carry their supplies off

to the woods. Just before five o'clock the school bell calls them all indoors for study. There is silence for two hours. Then they gather once more in the dining room for a simple evening meal.

Afterward, if the day is fair, the whole school goes out to a sheltered hollow in the pine woods. Teachers and boys roll up in blankets to rest while the head of the school reads aloud from a classic novel that has been chosen to suit the taste of half-grown boys. Later there may be a poem and always there will be singing accompanied by violins. If the weather is cold or stormy, everyone goes into the stately drawing room after supper and the boys drop down on the floor without ceremony to listen to the music of piano, flute or violin. Afterward comes the story and then each boy says a formal good night to the head of the school. He takes this opportunity to speak a word of praise or caution to lads whose behavior or work requires personal notice. On a warm evening the boys race down the hill for another hasty plunge into the stream just before going to bed. Three of them forego this pleasure to unload the last hay wagon that still waits under the wide eaves of the barn. Another little group is following the farmer about to help him feed and tend the animals for the night. Even if it were bitter cold, the boys would still have to splash in cold water in unheated rooms and go to bed with open windows.

The L.E.H. are trying to uphold Spartan ideals of hardiness. They are dealing with children more tenderly nurtured than the average, for their clientele is chiefly the upper middle class of landholders, business and professional people. In place of the intellectual training formerly offered to this group, the L.E.H. are promoting the idea of all-round education. Fifteen years before the war when the Youth Movement was beginning and the national school reform still a dream, they had begun the search for a new way of life that would free German youth from the narrow social conventions and one-sided education that had repressed the natural joy and vigor of youthful spirits, had handicapped physical development, and had estranged children of the upper classes from the peasantry of their own country.

The founders of the L.E.H. fled from the cities to establish schools in some remote valley, where their pupils could live close to the native soil and develop strength of character, before they were exposed to the dangers and unrest of the modern metropolis. These

social reformers denounced the caste distinction that had stigmatized one class as handworkers and elevated another as headworkers, and they declared that manual and mental labor are alike noble and necessary to the development of the well-balanced human beings. They planned a school situation that put practical labor for useful ends back into the place it had once occupied in the growth of civilization. They felt it important that their pupils should know by direct experience that "Learning is not to be valued above other claims of life." They arranged tasks that are no mere imitation of adult activities. The work has real economic value, requires continuous effort, and involves actual responsibilities.

In a few schools, guilds are formed and the pupils apprentice themselves to a master craftsman for a semester or a year. The master may be a teacher in the school, a workman on the premises, or he may be an older pupil who is making his own way and has had good practical training, so that he is capable of instructing others in carpentry, metal work, cobbling, gardening, or animal husbandry. Some of the guilds have carried on large projects of considerable value to the schools. They have wired buildings for electricity, constructed sheds for the farm animals, painted and repaired buildings, excavated swimming pools, laid out athletic fields, and cultivated the gardens. During the course of nine years of school life, a boy has the chance to try his hand at many crafts and to become fairly expert in one or two. This work is outside the regular provision made in the school curriculum for a certain amount of work in the arts and finer handicrafts.

Labor for the common needs of the school community is of basic importance in the L.E.H., not alone because of the skills learned, but because of the spirit of brotherhood developed. When teachers, pupils, and laborers work side by side, forgetting differences in social caste and mental training, they judge individuals according to basic values and they make an approach to mutual understanding that rests on common humanity and not on external variations of circumstance or training. The L.E.H. look upon this unification of spirit as a necessary element in national reconstruction and they feel that it is important to cultivate the feeling for universal social solidarity among children of the upper classes, because they are too often kept apart from the fundamental experiences of their fellows by living in sheltered homes, where the realities of life are concealed by

a veneer of luxury. Living in cities has become so artificial and social conditions so complicated that it is almost impossible for middle and upper class homes to create that genuine atmosphere of natural simplicity which children seem to need for their best development. Normal family life appears to be fighting a losing battle against the onslaught of modern amusements and the changing moral standards of the age. The disappearance of home industries and chores has been often deplored, because it means the loss of one great educative function of the home. What the L.E.H. offers may be only a partial substitute for the reality, but it may accomplish some good in preserving values that threaten to vanish, and their school plan has proved the feasibility of incorporating *work* in education.

There are several schools in America, organized for special purposes, where the combining of practical work and intellectual training has produced a balanced educational situation very similar to that in the L.E.H. One of these institutions, the Berry School in Georgia, receives pupils from the mountain districts only, but the principal has often been urged to admit the children of northern millionaires, who say they would give anything they possess to have their sons and daughters educated in a school that ennobles real labor at the same time that it gives the essentials of a liberal education.

Within the L.E.H., common labor for community needs is especially valued, because it helps to break down the barrier between professors and pupils. Hitherto German schoolmasters and schoolboys were not only separated by the natural gap between adults and adolescents, but they were also kept apart by official caste feeling arising from the authoritative position of the masters, who treated boys as creatures of a lower order, of whom nothing was expected except respectful obedience. The L.E.H. have replaced this nonsocial relation with that of comradeship and have sought by many means to put pupils and teachers on a plane of equality, varied only because of the natural respect that belongs to the older men by reason of their wider experience and greater responsibilities. Inevitably the schoolboy comes to feel more friendly to the man who has worked beside him in the smithy, competed with him on the athletic field, led the way on mountain hikes, and shared meals and lodgings year after year. It is no light task for a teacher to be a councilor in a *Landerziehungsheim*. His hours of classroom teaching are reduced somewhat, but his personal life is curtailed and he must be agreeable

in personality as well as sound in character to hold the confidence of his group throughout all the intimacies of daily contact. There have been many such men in the L.E.H. who have worked with zeal for the welfare of youth, or the schools would never have succeeded in establishing a type of student government that upholds high standards of behavior with little recourse to faculty authority.

The L.E.H. do not place much dependence upon the forms of government—constitutional phrases or parliamentary regulations—in making their school councils effective. The essential educational force upon which they rely is the kind of spirit the school fosters and the intimacy of personal relations. The school enrollments are kept small in order to permit close contacts between members of each school community. Home life is the real foundation of their pupil government.

The Lietz schools do not favor coeducation. They follow the continental tradition of having the sexes educated in separate schools altogether. The L.E.H. are for boys only, with slight exceptions, but a few similar schools for girls have come into existence. Lietz's followers also think it inadvisable for pupils of all ages to be thrown together, because the younger children tend to become overstimulated and imitative of the older pupils, while the latter are somewhat hampered by their juniors. Consequently, the L.E.H. association divides its enrollment of five hundred boys among six schools —one for the youngest children from nine to twelve years, three for the intermediate groups from twelve to sixteen, and two for the older pupils from sixteen to eighteen years. There is also an orphanage for boys and girls of various ages under the same management.

There are many causes underlying the plan of the L.E.H. for arranging a school régime that balances emphasis on learning, labor, recreation, and artistic pursuits. Not the least of these is the conviction of the founder that all-round growth and interests are prerequisites to normal sex development, which is a matter of primary importance in the education of adolescents. Lietz often deplored the prevalence of sexual maladjustments among schoolboys under the old régime. Then they were required to sit inactive for hours on narrow school benches. Scarcely any provision was made for physical recreation. Clothing was conventional and uncomfortable. Dormitory life was like that of the barracks instead of the home. Many pupils were scattered in the boarding houses of the town with little

supervision from the school authorities. The boys' manners, amusements, and conversation were modeled on those of adults, so that they gained premature experience in drinking and sexual adventures. Their association with girls was restricted and artificial.

The leaders of the L.E.H. did not have much faith in direct moral instruction as a counter-attack on these evils. But they saw the problem as one that had to be met by a general reconstruction of the conditions of school life. They admitted that there was a place for group instruction regarding sex functions in the biology class and a need for supervision and personal talks by the councilor. But they thought all these means to better sex life were less important than a daily program that kept boys vigorously occupied with physical and mental work that strengthened their bodies and refined their sensibilities, gave them a legitimate outlet for their growing sense of power, and gradually developed their moral standards. These teachers counted on withdrawal from the overstimulating atmosphere of the city to the quiet of country life to help boys adjust themselves better to the basic facts of life. They hoped that the fine spiritual atmosphere of the homes and the honored place given to religion, music, and creative work would deepen the appreciative side of adolescent nature and delay erotic impulses until they became mature and found diverse means of expression.

The educational ideals of the L.E.H. are no less splendid than their social ideals. They have had notable success in bringing new practices and spirit into class work. Thirty years ago Lietz was vehement in his criticisms of the narrow intellectual schooling given to German boys in instruction overweighted with classical and historical materials. He was an ardent champion of the modern curriculum, which finds educational values in living languages, native culture, and scientific or practical work. His tolerance on religious matters and his liberalism in politics and international questions was so great that he was often looked upon as a rather dangerous radical. Yet his whole philosophy of life and education was based upon unfaltering loyalty to the ideals and qualities that had made the German people an industrious, social-minded, nature-loving, musical folk.

He shaped the school side of the L.E.H. to meet the natural needs of German youth. Work was put on the same plane as study. Control of the school and the class was left to the pupils to some

extent. The secluded environment put them in close touch with the realities of nature and left them free to live a simple, wholesome life. Music entered into the life of the group to an unusual degree and many individuals lived through their music instead of merely being instructed in musical techniques. Because the L.E.H. are distinctive among European secondary schools in the emphasis they give to sports, arts, crafts, labor, and social life, it is often assumed that the ordinary routine of instruction is neglected or mediocre, but this is not the case.

Usually they follow the course of studies used in the modern types of higher schools, *Oberrealschule, Reformrealgymnasium*, or *Deutsche Oberschule*. Their acceptance of an official set of required hours and subjects is necessary to their existence. No private school in Germany would prosper unless it gave to the general public and to the ministry of education a definite guarantee of its standards. To apostles of complete freedom, this may look like compromise and restriction, but to most teachers in the L.E.H. it is considered a safeguard of their reputation and only a slight hindrance to their educational liberty. Up until the last year or two of school life, they succeed in keeping their pupils relatively unconscious of marks and reports. Competition in scholarship would be inimical to the social spirit that is their highest aim. Inevitably the boys in the senior class are much occupied with preparation for the final examination, but even that ordeal loses most of its terrors when it is given in the home school by home teachers under the new and liberal state regulations.

It is true that class teaching seems relatively inconspicuous in the program of the L.E.H., because instruction and study are well balanced with other activities of equal educational worth. Since these are boarding schools, their full control of the pupils' time makes it possible for them to give six clock hours daily to class periods, two to preparation in middle and upper groups and still have three hours a day for art, labor and sports. The older pupils generally exceed the study minimum, but they do not decrease time given to recreation, although they may perform less practical work in their senior year.

In schools for the older boys it is customary to give the upper classes one "study day" every fortnight, which every pupil uses for intensive reading, the preparation of a report, or for work on the senior essay. Several of these essays have been published recently in the L.E.H. journal, and their quality compares well with that

of many a master's thesis, yet the individual character of the work has preserved the freshness of youth's point of view. Such essays now form an important part of the maturity examination given to all graduates of German secondary schools at the close of their course, so that their qualifications for entrance to the state universities may be ascertained. The L.E.H. conform to official requirements by giving both the oral and written examinations. Formerly graduates from all these schools had to undergo an examination by strangers, but many of them have now won the right to have the examinations conducted in their own schools by the teachers who know the candidates best. Thus they are able to overcome the great weakness of all examinations which tend to make a hasty and inadequate judgment of a person's qualifications. In accordance with the intent of the new regulations, the examiners can take into full account the past achievements and personal traits of an individual, balancing his special abilities against his shortcomings, and thus deliberately make a recommendation as to his probable fitness for university work. Graduates of the L.E.H. have seldom experienced difficulty in qualifying for advanced study.

As separate schools and as a group, the work of the Country School Homes is limited by all the conditions that have made the economic struggle hard for any independent enterprise in Germany, both before and after the war. Particularly in the last decade, when few people of the intellectual class can afford to pay tuition for their children, the progressive private school has suffered. Yet many of these schools have managed to keep open a number of free places for scholarship pupils. They have had to reduce the standard of living by supplying less heat and hot water, simpler food and service. The pupils and teachers, themselves, have taken over many tasks formerly performed by servants. Repairs and extension of buildings and equipment have often been the work of the schoolboy guilds. Necessity has come to the aid of a theory in education and given real purpose to labor that might have remained an empty form.

The number of pupils actually affected by life in the L.E.H. and other private boarding schools is small as compared with the enrollment of regular secondary schools. But in these limited groups are many pupils who are destined to become leaders in business, professional, and social life. It is not true that most boys and girls are

sent to the L.E.H. because they are unable to carry on the work of the state schools. That is a misconception which arises because a similar name is used in Germany for schools designed for problem children. It does frequently happen, however, that delicately organized personalities which suffer under the regular school routine or unsympathetic home conditions, find the L.E.H. a perfect haven of release, where they can develop abilities that may be quite unusual, yet showed no previous promise.

The average pupil in the L.E.H. shows a good grade of ability although there are many cases of irregularity in school training. These schools usually have a number of children of German parentage, who were born in Africa, America, or the Orient, but whose parents prefer that they receive part of their education in Germany. Such boys are handicapped by a late start in the German schools and an inferior mastery of the language, but the schools discount these temporary set-backs and give full weight to the wider experiences foreign pupils can bring to bear on their school work.

These cases offer an excellent example of the way the L.E.H. succeed in fitting their schools to children's needs. Yet many of their pupils meet the same standards for the final examination that are required of all state secondary school graduates in Germany. A considerable group of L.E.H. pupils do not, however, desire to go on to the university. They expect to take a share in the management of the family estate or business as soon as they leave school, or after a brief period of technical training. Such pupils do not need to be particularly concerned about academic requirements and they frequently close their school career at the end of the middle course, when they are sixteen or seventeen years of age. On the continent, university training is not yet looked upon as necessary or desirable for all occupations, but its advantages are chiefly reserved for those who wish to enter the learned professions. The son of a wealthy business man may plan to while away a year or two at the university for the sake of student life and a certain gain in social prestige, but he seldom plans to complete the work for a degree, if he is to enter a commercial occupation.

Teachers in the L.E.H. must meet the same standards of training as do those employed in state secondary schools, but they forgo the advantage of being government officials, for they are not assured permanent tenure or a retirement pension. Consequently, most

of the teachers are either mature men, whole-heartedly devoted to work in a free school and to rural life, or they are novices with great enthusiasm for new and idealistic theories of education. Some of the latter identify themselves permanently with the L.E.H. and live as close comrades to their pupils. They are known as educators, *Erzieher*, to distinguish them from mere instructors. Others look upon the experience as an apprenticeship and soon obtain securer positions in the state schools, where they are heartily welcomed by progressive educators. The intimate contact these young teachers have with their pupils in the freer atmosphere of the L.E.H. is looked upon as a valuable addition to professional training, equivalent to courses in the psychology of adolescence or educational philosophy. The many-sided life of the L.E.H. calls out all of a young man's resourcefulness, for he must be ready to work and play as well as teach, and this versatility distinguishes him from the typical university graduate with academic training only.

It is characteristic of the Country Home Schools that each leader has withdrawn with his following of teachers and pupils into some remote village or valley and there set up his educational community alone. Connections between the schools have been slight, even though most of them have a common origin. Some teachers in the original group of Lietz schools became dissatisfied with the general conservatism there and seceded to establish Free School Communities where coeducation was introduced and pupil government replaced patriarchal rule, as is now the case in Gustav Wyneken's school at Wickersdorf and Paul Geheeb's school in the Odenwald. Other offshoots have carried the L.E.H. idea in modified form to a dozen centers. On an island in the North Sea is Martin Luserke's school, famed for its exceptional dramatic work. At Gardelegen in northern Germany is Bernard Uffrecht's community of workers, where pupils actually do perform most of the labor necessary for their own maintenance. In the Harz mountains is the school Max Bondy has created in the spirit of the Youth Movement. Between the Weser River and the Solling Forest stands the institution that Theophil Lehmann has brought to a high standard. By the shore of Lake Constance is a German L.E.H. for girls directed by women and loosely affiliated with the Lietz Foundation. Near Munich is the Schondorf school with a splendid reputation for social spirit and academic achievement. In both northern and southern Switzerland are L.E.H.

that trace their origin back to some influences from the German schools.

For years all of these schools have carried on their work as separate entities, except for those incorporated in the Lietz Foundation. In 1926 for the first time, they were officially presented to the public as a group of educational institutions, whose work has significance for the reformers of the present day. The Central Institute for Education and Instruction saw fit to use the experience of these private schools as an incentive to greater efforts in the state reforms of secondary education. The Institute invited representatives of the L.E.H. to come to Berlin for a conference and it published a volume of articles bearing on their policies and experience. Such a step toward closer association has its value, both for the encouragement of individual school experiments and for the wider dissemination of the results. Many arrangements found practicable under the special conditions of the Country Home Schools are obviously not transferable to the public schools in the same form. Nevertheless, educational principles are not altogether dependent upon outward circumstance and certain ideals developed in the L.E.H. have also proved their worth in large state institutions.

The L.E.H. are able to point to one distinctive school reform following the war, for which they served as models to some extent. Austria has converted her military academies into schools called the B.E.A., or Federal Educational Institutions, which closely resemble the L.E.H. as to social ideals and school procedure. In Germany a similar attempt was made to transform the old military schools, but it has not been notably successful. Although the Austrian schools are large state institutions for gifted children, yet they have followed the pattern of the smaller private schools with considerable fidelity. Other influences helped to shape the educational policy of the B.E.A., but the leaders actually spent some time in Swiss and German L.E.H. studying the methods of those schools and absorbing the idealistic philosophy that had motivated these pioneers in the new education. During the ten years that the Austrian schools have existed, they have occasionally exchanged teachers with their colleagues in Switzerland and Germany and they have entertained many visiting groups of professors and pupils.

The private experimental school can perform a real service for public education by keeping faith in its ideals long enough to in-

corporate theories in practice so effective that it becomes convincing and is adopted into larger school situations. This the L.E.H. have done admirably. Their contribution to the German school reform is less definite for there is no new school type established that duplicates the L.E.H. However, as has been pointed out, the *Landschulheim* movement is more than slightly indebted to the L.E.H. for their inspiration and many practical suggestions. One may say the secondary school reformers are repeating point for point experiments already tried out on a small scale in the L.E.H., as the great state institutions stress modern subjects and social studies, athletics, arts and crafts, as they encourage individual work and self-activity in the classroom, as they arrange school excursions, and as they foster self-government and student organizations for various purposes.

It is unimportant to measure the amount of force the L.E.H. have exerted in the German school revolution, but it is significant to recognize their existence as pioneers, working in out-of-the-way corners of the land, upholding ideals, and laboring faithfully in their own schools until a day came when they saw the truths they had experienced in a limited way become forceful in reconstructing the schools of a nation they had loved and served even when they saw its faults all too clearly.

Among German educators there is considerable difference of opinion as to the amount of influence the L.E.H., as a small group of private schools, have exerted on the educational reforms of the country. A superintendent thinks they have zero value, while another finds them the source of many fruitful impulses. One of their own leaders answers the query as to their worth in the words of Hölderlin, "What we are is nothing, but what we seek is everything."

CHAPTER XII

Other Progressive Private Schools

"Education as a whole cannot solidify so long as freedom-bearers exist."
LINDEMAN

PRIVATE schools have never been encouraged in Germany, except for girls, because the government desired to keep control of the education of the manhood of the nation. All secondary schools there have two characteristics of the private school in that the pupils are selected and tuition is required. But the similarity goes no further, for state support and state regulation of the curricula, examinations and teachers bind the higher schools to the public school system just as firmly as the elementary schools are bound. Before the war liberty for experiment in secondary education was found chiefly in private schools.

Most of these survived the war and the economic depression which followed simply because the teachers were willing to make great personal sacrifices in order that the schools might continue. Their leaders have lived to see the same ideals and practices they long upheld now penetrating the mass of public schools.

The Free School Communities, *Freie Schulgemeinden,* are direct offshoots of the Country School Homes and were established because certain teachers differed with Lietz on fundamental principles of education. In 1906 Gustav Wyneken left the L.E.H. Haubinda after six years of service and set up the first Free School Community at Wickersdorf in an isolated valley among the somber pines of the Thuringian Forest. His partner in the venture was Paul Geheeb, also one of Lietz's former colleagues. After a short time Geheeb withdrew and founded his own school in the Odenwald, some distance from Heidelberg.

The Free School Communities are similar to the Country School Homes in many respects. Both are located in a secluded and beautiful rural environment. They have provided for wholesome living conditions and varied educational activities with emphasis on physical

well-being and socially useful personalities. Both types of school have fostered a friendly, informal relationship between teacher and pupil. Their regard for spiritual and esthetic values is fundamental. In both the curricula follow closely the pattern of the *Oberrealschule* and *Reformrealgymnasium*, which minimize the classics, emphasize science and modern languages and provide well for arts, handicrafts and physical education. Both have aided their pupils in meeting state standards by giving special preparation for the final examination. They enroll chiefly the children of well-to-do parents. The schools are alike in their freedom from social conventions and political bureaucracy.

Differences between these two types of progressive schools seem to them fundamental. The L.E.H. are paternalistic Homes, relatively conservative in politics and religion, and opposed to coeducation as well as to groups of varying ages. The F.S.G. are more liberal on all these points. Both Wyneken and Geheeb reflect Tolstoian qualities in their personalities, just as their Communities embody naturalistic and humanitarian ideals. The school at Wickersdorf has had a stormy history, because of the eccentricities of Wyneken. The Odenwald School has prospered, because of steadier business management and the comparatively moderate temperament of Geheeb.

Every hour in the *Wickersdorfschule* throws fresh light on the purposes of its founder—to let youth create its own world and culture under the guidance of sympathetic adults who still feel the spirit of youth in themselves and respect its manifestations in others. The atmosphere of the school expresses regard for spiritual values in every activity—the gathering of young and old in the simple, beautiful dining hall, the greeting of one to another, the hush that follows the reading of a verse before meals, then the merriment of healthy, unafraid youths, their enthusiasm for sports, their vigorous attack on school work, and their instinctive response to the touch of beauty in art, music, or nature. Three hours spent at Wickersdorf are outstanding—one morning period in philosophy, a faculty tea in the afternoon, and a musicale at dusk.

Like most of the new schools and few of the old, Wickersdorf has assembled a good library for the use of the pupils and teachers. Into this spacious, colorful room come the older groups, forty pupils, to discuss problems of philosophy and citizenship with Dr.

Wyneken, the former head of the school. With the questions, "What is the state?" and "What is the individual?" he leads them into thinking about the organic grouping of lower plants and animals as compared with the individualistic organization of human society. The students present their own ideas freely and there is much argument on marginal points. Here are some of the questions raised by groping, youthful minds as the teacher helped them phrase their own queries. "Is the principle of grouping different in chemical crystallizations, cellular organisms, animal herds and human associations, or is the practical result the only real distinction? Is like-mindedness an outcome of similar structure, association, or experience, or is it chiefly a matter of chance? Does the nature of a substance or do external influences determine its form? Can a state shape its own nature and goals, or are these governed by its past history unalterably? What rôle does diversity in human types and habits play in society? What is the essential difference between a state or nation and a race or tribal association? What importance do origins or facts of historical development have for our understanding of present conditions? Can human growth and the development of institutions be explained or is our understanding of them absolutely limited?"

Such a class period as this not only illustrates the leadership a man like Wyneken gives to young people, but it also indicates the mature and abstract thinking expected of German secondary school students. Philosophy has long been a required subject in the senior year and the new schools keep the name, but drop the historical and logical view in order to discuss the problems of modern youth and a democratic society.

Since the teachers at Wickersdorf share their responsibility for control of the school with the pupils themselves, any discussion of business is reserved for general council meetings or for private conferences. As a result, the faculty is free to meet often purely for social recreation. In a cottage safe from the invasion of pupils, the men and women sit long at the tea table in conversation that wanders between light pleasantries and serious discussions of music, art, literature, politics, travel, and philosophy. The experience and mental caliber of the group members give quality to their opinions. The present director of the school, August Halm, is a composer of international fame and a leader in the reform of musical education.

Other faculty members are distinguished in various fields. All have come to work in this idealistic school because of their belief in *Jugendkultur*, the power of youth to create its own forms of esthetic expression, to solve intellectual problems, and to shape a new and better social order.

Evening hours at the *Wickersdorfschule* seldom pass without music. There may be a group of pupils who gather to practice or play for their own pleasure. Possibly the faculty makes up a trio or quartette for chamber music. A mixed group of teachers and pupils may gather for singing and dancing. Always the music is of the highest order and this standard is maintained within the school in spite of the protests of a few pupils who still long for the popular tunes and ragtime rhythms they were accustomed to hear in the city. The teachers do not expect to overcome the modern craze for jazz, but they do hope to build into the character of every pupil some love for the finer forms of music. Here is evidence that they are succeeding.

One evening after supper a teacher of mathematics sat at the piano in the low-ceiled music room, which adjoins the dining hall. He was playing Bach and Mozart and Beethoven for himself alone. By ones and twos the children slipped in from their play outside in the summer twilight and sat down on the floor or on rude benches around the walls. A whole troupe of *Wandervögel*, who had taken shelter in the school barns for the night, were drawn into the hall by the music. The dim room was filled with a listening silence. There was no effort made to explain musical themes or to stimulate appreciation. None was needed. When the player had finished and closed his instrument, there was no applause except a murmur here, an unconscious sigh there, and a slight stir as if all his hearers were waking from a dream of beauty. Slight wonder that the *Wickersdorfschule* regards music rightly presented as one sure way to the soul of youth.

To avoid leaving the impression that music always finds an atmosphere of such delicate sensibility in Germany and to emphasize the contribution of Wickersdorf in this field, set beside this description another evening musicale also held in one of the progressive boarding schools. A piano concert was announced at the supper table and the older groups were urged to remain. Rows of chairs were crowded close together in a brightly lighted room. The performer

was a guest and he evidently felt it his duty when playing for school children to explain the music in an educational lecture beforehand. During the course of his remarks, one youth after another vanished from the back rows. The music began—a brilliant performance for the concert stage, but one that left these hearers untouched. A few more boys and girls found their way quietly to the exit and their outdoor games. They were free to go, for this school never forces its pupils to become hypocrites. When the pianist had finished, only a scattering of teachers remained—adults more appreciative than the children or merely more polite and less sincere?

The country boarding school which is probably best known to Americans is the *Odenwaldschule* near Heppenheim. Although situated in the hills bordering the Rhine valley opposite Worms, the school is not completely isolated, but is able to keep in touch with nearby cities like Darmstadt, Mannheim, and Heidelberg. The teachers value contacts with the outside world for themselves and the older pupils, yet they do not avoid the criticism of "having made a beautiful escape from reality in a happy valley." The school is well-managed and housed in modern villas, five of them named for Goethe, Herder, Fichte, Schiller and Humboldt.

The practices of the *Odenwaldschule* spring from immediate realities and actual needs with little theorizing about eternal values. Dr. Geheeb looks on education as a matter of determining the best social and material surroundings for children, because he believes that it is the environment that educates rather than the teacher, who is only one factor among many environing influences. His school departs from the customary procedure of other German boarding schools in two particulars. He is an ardent champion of coeducation and he has organized the curriculum into a series of elective courses.

Coeducation is real in the *Odenwaldschule,* to a degree approximated by scarcely half a dozen other schools in the world. The school community as a whole seems to have solved the problem of a common boarding school life for pupils of all ages. Boys and girls live under the same roof in adjacent rooms, visit one another freely, walk together in the forest, and share the common life without any surreptitious surveillance. Nor has this freedom resulted in any undesirable behavior, so the leaders say, "not because of luck or chance, but simply because success follows as a natural consequence of our system."

The high standard of coeducation in the *Odenwaldschule* rests upon the quality of their family life, which develops remarkably close understanding between pupils and teachers and cultivates normal sex adjustments through varied contacts of boys and girls as their interests converge in community affairs. The school enrolls about one hundred pupils from three to nineteen years of age. The smaller children live in a separate house, but all pupils between nine and eighteen are grouped in *Kameradschaften,* comradeship units or families, under the care of a married couple or a single teacher. Each newcomer chooses his group within the first month and is subject to the group's approval before being adopted, but rejections or changes seldom occur.

Linked with the influence of the comradeship groups is that of the community council. There young and old, boys and girls, pupils and teachers, are represented, for every member of the Free School Community is likewise a member of the school council. Meetings are held every two or three weeks and presided over by a pupil. Geheeb takes the risk of pupil decisions, but it is evident that the intimate relation of teachers and pupils has brought about the ideal situation where authority withheld has led youth to seek the advice of its elders voluntarily. In this school the function of the *Schulgemeinde,* school council, has been expanded, so that it is more than a court or parliament and becomes an "arena of spiritual life," where discussion, reading, and report afford opportunity for anyone to present matters of general interest which are not adequately treated in regular classes or family councils.

There is one moment in the school day which reflects well the success attained in self-government at the *Odenwaldschule.* Just before the noon lunch, Dr. Geheeb meets his faculty for a few minutes in an upper room of the same building that houses the dining hall. This means that no teacher is present at the time the pupils assemble. Yet they manage to wash their hands without being told; at the signal of a bell they come in from play without being called a second time; and they take their places at the tables with reasonable speed and quiet. Without a word of command there is a hush as the teaching staff enters the room and everyone is ready at once to hear the short verse Dr. Geheeb reads aloud. The young servers are at their posts and the meal proceeds in a quiet, orderly, unhurried fashion. There is nothing military in the procedure. It is simply an

arrangement that places on the pupils the responsibility for cleanliness, promptness, calmness and independent discharge of duties. The teachers are freed from nagging repetition of petty commands and are able to enjoy a moment of rest and consultation in the middle of a long, busy day.

Instruction in the *Odenwaldschule* is organized on a unique plan and one that is particularly extreme in Germany, where secondary schools have generally held to inflexible programs of study. Since 1913 this school has offered all subjects for children over ten years in courses of four weeks each. Before the new month opens there are many suggestions for new or continued courses handed in by teachers and pupils. Application for admission is made to the teacher of any particular class. The faculty holds prolonged meetings, deciding upon the array of courses and the fitness of certain pupils to enter those they have selected. At the beginning of each month the list of courses is finally posted, some to be offered in double periods, and some in a single hour daily. Pupils carry a minimum of two content or cultural courses and one practical or craft course. Each is free to elect work within the limits of his ability, previous preparation, future examination requirements, and probable life needs. Selection must be approved by an adviser who knows the pupil well and refers to his course book, showing the sequence of studies followed and the progress made by the individual up to this point. Over a period of time it has been found that the majority of courses sought and offered correspond closely to those given in an *Oberrealschule.*

A day spent in classes at the *Odenwaldschule* gives a series of interesting pictures of progressive methods in instruction. In the first place, each schoolroom expresses clearly the type of work and study carried on there, whether it be the sunny, colorful playroom of the younger group, the geography room with its charts, maps, globes, and references, or the French room with its pictures and library. Every room has a collection of books needed for work in the subject taught there. The classrooms have been made as attractive as the living rooms and sleeping rooms in the school, so that the daily life of the pupil will have unity and not be separated into two parts—a pleasant time of play and a dull time of school drudgery.

At seven o'clock in the morning here is a class in mathematics getting the first concepts of solid geometry in a concrete way as they

experiment with the construction of pyramids, cubes, and cylinders. In the middle of the two hour period they go out to play, then return for a brief discussion of the facts they have discovered about geometrical solids and for completion of the crude models, which will eventually explain established theorems.

Another class is studying French by the direct method, which the instructor refers to as the "mother method," because he is dealing with children of ten to twelve years, who can be taught a foreign language in much the same way that they were taught to speak their mother tongue. Listening, oral repetition, and action are the steps he employs in teaching French for immediate use in the schoolroom, so that classes may be conducted entirely in the foreign tongue as work in reading and writing proceeds.

Here is a physiology lesson in charge of a youth who is making a report to the class. His manner of handling the subject, yellow fever, shows real ability in using references, organizing materials, and presenting them to others with clarity in words and sketches. He has prepared two slides for the microscope in order to show his comrades the eggs of the mosquito and some details of the insect's structure. It is characteristic of German science teachers that they seldom limit their pupils to merely juvenile attainments, but they let individuals go as far as they can in any field of science that makes a strong appeal, even when the student attempts work above his normal level.

In a class studying poetry the teacher reads aloud Goethe's "Prometheus" to a responsive group. They discuss briefly the musical quality of the poem, the original Greek myth, and its meaning in reference to Goethe's life. Evidently this poem has been chosen for memorization, but books are not used, because it has been found that the rhythm heard is more effective in fixing the lines in the memory. Again the teacher reads aloud a verse, so that the phrases are fitted into the rhythm and not learned as separate words. A few pupils repeat it orally and then all write the verse down, making their own corrections afterward and studying difficult lines. This teacher is inclined to think that German boys and girls seldom attempt to write original verse, for "When they know Goethe, they do not want to be mere rhymesters." He believes, too, that the crest of romanticism brought by the Youth Movement has passed, and that the young people of to-day are more matter of fact. Whether

all teachers in Germany's new schools would agree with him or not, it is true that there is little evidence of creative work in poetry in their classes, although many boys and girls write verse privately.

Art work receives great emphasis. In the studio where Herr Sachs presides, every pupil is working with vigor and independence, painting, sketching, modeling, or making linoleum prints and woodcuts. There is a low hum of conversation, some exchange of criticism between pupils and advice sought from the teacher now and then. He says that there is a rhythm of interest in varying subjects—at one time architectural and mechanical forms, now flowers and animals, later perhaps human beings. Several excellent prints of animals are on the walls and many clay figures are in the process of being made. One boy has cut a series of animals on small linoleum blocks to be used in decorating a map of Africa. A little girl dashes out of doors to gather a spray of lilies she "loves" and wants to sketch. But she is troubled over her inability to make the picture as lovely as her idea of the flowers until the teacher says, "You cannot make the lilies more beautiful than nature, so do not try to make your picture *like* them." With this she is free to sketch the curves that have appealed strongly to her fancy and to ignore all discouraging details. An older boy asks whether it is really true that one may now present a piece of art work to fulfill one of the requirements for graduation, and he is assured that all secondary schools in Germany now offer their pupils the privilege of making their art study count for university entrance.

A second offshoot from Wickersdorf is Luserke's *Schule am Meer*, another Free School Community, established some five years ago on the low-lying sandy island of Juist in the North Sea just opposite Bremen's harbor. The founder and leader of the school, Martin Luserke, is especially distinguished for his work and his writings on the juvenile drama. In the simplest of settings and with sincere artistry he leads his pupils to lose themselves or find themselves in the spirit of a play and to give their own interpretation of a character or a mood.

But his school is more than a children's theater. It is also a place for hard duty and practical work. Boys and girls must be of Spartan mold to face the austerity of life in the "School by the Sea," where every member of the community labors at his share of necessary chores even when winter storms sweep the surrounding ocean and

threaten the security of these island dwellers. Perhaps it is their very intimacy with primitive forces which makes it easier for Luserke's pupils to present dramas of vitality and simple beauty.

Although Luserke is a product of the Youth Movement, he is not one of the extremists who encourage youth to create its own cultural forms without reference to classical traditions. Sometimes his pupils write their own dramas, occasionally he writes a play for them, but more often they turn to folk festivals, old mystery plays, to short pieces by Hans Sachs, or to the dramas of Schiller, Lessing, Goethe, and Shakespeare, when they plan a production for their theater. Luserke emphasizes creative acting rather than original writing. Within the limitations of the school theater he sees rich opportunities for children and young people to discover the essential beauty of dramatic masterpieces and to unfold their own emotions and abilities in re-living human experiences from other times and places.

Music, the dance, and the arts of color, form, and design, all contribute to the beauty of the plays Luserke presents, but never does he forget that it is the human voice and figure which are the soul of the drama. At the *Schule am Meer* all plays are innocent of theatricalism and untouched by the cheap effects of a commercialized stage.

One of the best equipped country boarding schools is the *Landschulheim am Solling*, directed by Dr. Theophile Lehmann. The modern school buildings with their plastered walls crossed by wooden beams and decorated with a few fitting mottoes lettered in color, reflect the chief features of native architecture in this region of central Germany. The school stands against a background of low hills that mark the edge of Solling Forest. In the distant foreground can be seen the village of Holzminden and the Weser River where the boys go to swim.

As a result of the boys' labor the school has good playing fields. Many of the older pupils aided in the construction of an astronomical observatory, which is the hobby of the assistant director. Practical work occupies at least two afternoons a week. To see the boys digging and hauling and building, one would never suspect that these lads come from upper class homes where manual toil is little known. Nor would one recognize as the director of the school the energetic man, clad in rough working clothes, who is helping a group

of boys construct a tennis court. Later he appears in the council ring that is formed in the school courtyard after luncheon, so that teachers and pupils together may discuss affairs of the day. Usually he is to be found in a study walled with books or in the classroom doing his share of teaching. School heads are never mere executives in a Country School Home.

Even though Solling boys and girls labor at rough tasks in fields and shops, the refinements of life are well-provided in this school. In place of one large noisy dining hall, there are smaller rooms and alcoves, where groups may enjoy their meals in reasonable quiet and with some opportunity for low-toned conversation. The tables are covered with white cloths and the service, with pupils taking turns as waiters, is excellent.

Glimpses of classroom instruction disclose work of a standard as high as that observed in city secondary schools and of greater vividness. One group is engaged in an animated discussion of polar explorations. Before them are the necessary maps, the globe, and a collection of pictures and references. Their study follows an orderly sequence. First a pupil reports his division of the subject. Questions are raised and freely discussed. Then the teacher lectures on new points of difficulty, suggesting readings for those who wish to study the matter further. Finally a few minutes are given to the writing of notes as a summary of the chief points dealt with in the lesson and as a guide to future preparation. From the detail with which a single topic is handled, it is evident that several polar expeditions are to be studied and the incidental facts bearing on geography will be thoroughly treated.

The rain has cheated a class in geography out of a visit to the tower on one of the school buildings, from which they would have seen the surrounding country spread out like a map before them. They are making the best of things, however, by laying out a floor map representing their circle of view from the lookout. As they draw the horizon bounded by hills, they begin to ask many questions about mountains. They refer to topographical maps to find the elevation of hills seen from the window. They turn to tables in their books to find the highest peaks and plateaus in the world and they search for these on maps of the continents. They discuss the variations in temperature and rainfall caused by mountain ranges. Going back to their floor map, they attempt to represent elevation

and they compare its scale of distances with that used on other maps and with their estimates of the actual distance from the school to the village or the river. At first their calculations are made with difficulty and with much help from the teacher. The second time most of the group reckon distances according to the scale eagerly and independently. Their growing interest, the active method, and the definite achievement in a single period, show the possibility of incidental instruction under a teacher who is well informed and knows how to lead his group skillfully.

Some older groups scarcely seem to feel the need of a teacher. One may go into arts and crafts studios and find the pupils hard at work on a variety of intricate problems in drawing, painting, sculpture, and wood and metal work, with no instructor present for minutes at a time. Self-purpose and independent power are two aims of the Solling School that seem well attained.

One innovation in this school is the *Unterrichtsgemeinde*, instructional council, which is a regular series of assemblies where different professors present special topics of interest to a selected group of older pupils, giving to the occasions the special air of a university lecture. Usually these talks are accompanied by some graphic presentation of the subject with slides, charts, pictures, or a laboratory demonstration. Afterward the audience of pupils and teachers asks the speaker questions and engages him in a lively discussion. This form of class work is a decided novelty in German schools, where teachers were formerly supposed to do all the questioning and the pupil was only responsible for answers. Occasionally a capable student presents to the council some topic which he has studied thoroughly, but as a rule pupil reports are confined to the separate classrooms.

The drama has a recognized place in the Solling School, both as a means of recreation and instruction. A farce is very well presented by a group of boys whose English is so clear and correct in accent that the listener has no difficulty in following the lines of the play. The action is equally good and free from teacher direction. In the hearty response of the audience and the informality of the whole situation, one can see that such plays are frequent and are produced without strain or exhibitionism.

Nothing in the *Landschulheim am Solling* speaks of radicalism

or overemphasis on theoretical ideals. It is simply a well-managed boarding school of a progressive type that has created a wholesome environment for growing boys and a few girls. It is a school that has successfully put into practice many principles of educational reform which have already been worked out and proved valuable for the individual and the group.

No composite picture of the country boarding school is complete until the color and gayety of a festival is added to it. Pupils and teachers in this group of new schools have learned to play together better than German schoolboys and schoolmasters anywhere else. At *Gandersheim* in the Harz Mountains we find another of these schools, which was founded by Dr. Max Bondy, also a leader in the Youth Movement. Boys are allowed to be boys in this school and they play vigorously and naturally. They carry equal enthusiasm and inventiveness into the classroom, where the same teachers who have shared their sports and frolics direct their energies toward learning.

The closing festival of the school year is a high point in every school the world over. In this part of Germany the summer vacation begins at the end of July. The joyousness of the occasion is not marred by examinations or regret over final separations, for promotions and graduation always occur before the Easter holidays. The one month interim in August is only a pause for summer recreation. The celebration at *Gandersheim* has three parts—a field meet, an outdoor play, and a banquet in the dining hall. After months of regularity in school life, this one afternoon and evening are to be given over to revels that last long after the usual bedtime hour. To-morrow everyone will be on the way home and can sleep on the short train journey.

Rain stops the field meet, but the producers of the play are equal to any emergency. They stretch a worn canvas over the strip of lawn set aside for the audience. Then they proceed with their presentation of "As You Like It" in complete indifference to the light drizzle. Both teachers and pupils take part in the play and bring out all the comedy of its situations with a zest that would have delighted the heart of Will Shakespeare himself. The simple outdoor setting and the broadly humorous acting of several characters serve to carry the whole play back to its place in the Elizabethan period.

Even the German words are not disturbing, so well is the spirit caught by amateur actors from a nation that ranks an English playwright above its own dramatists.

But classic drama does not hold the limelight too long. A rollicking Hans Sachs play is given by the smaller boys in a spontaneous and effective fashion. This closes the program and sends the merry audience into the dining hall. Festoons of greenery and lighted candles cast a glamour over the familiar room. The usual simple evening meal is served with a special treat of cakes in great variety and abundance, so that everyone forgets their daily diet of black bread as they feast on sweets decorated in the cook's best manner. Gay speeches, stunts, and songs close the evening. With music comes a sudden solemnity over the thought of parting even for a short time. Life in the School Home is so well ordered to fit all a boy's needs that it is really true that many a lad leaves his school on the eve of vacation with genuine regret.

A private day school which began its experiment before the war and which still continues, is the Berthold Otto School, where the principle of integrated instruction has been paramount. The school, near Berlin in a suburban environment, enrolls boys and girls of all ages and puts social motives at the front of its educational program. Some of the class work is mediocre, but the principles of self-activity and learning through experience are clearly recognized. The most important feature of the school program is the daily assembly, when every member of the school gathers for an hour to discuss topics of the day. Two large rooms are thrown together for this meeting and the walls are lined with benches where teachers and pupils of all ages sit side by side. The head of the school presides and a teacher acts as secretary, reading a résumé of the previous meeting and recording the new discussion. In the period devoted to the assembly, any subject may be brought up by any child and the program is rarely made in advance.

Elimination of subject divisions is a part of Otto's interpretation of *Gesamtunterricht*, integrated instruction, but that is incidental to his main idea which values the principle chiefly as the force which unites the members of a class or school into a social group, where each contributes diverse knowledge and abilities to the solution of a common problem. To Berthold Otto socialization seems more important than rearrangements of the curriculum.

This school experiment has carried an idea to an extreme before developing the techniques needed. Such pioneer centers, handicapped by lack of funds and a fluctuating group of pupils and teachers, may fall short in their own practical achievements, yet their ideals influence wider circles and inspire other experiments, which gradually reach the great mass of public educators. Teachers and parents in several of the German Community Schools are glad to acknowledge that Berthold Otto's example and writings helped to form their vision of social education.

Another notable private school established by Anthroposophists before the war and still flourishing, is the *Freie Waldorfschule* at Stuttgart. During the last two decades several new philosophies and cults have won many followers in Germany. The separation of church and state has weakened orthodox religions somewhat and conflicts in modern thought have led to the rise of sects that attempt to reconcile old and new beliefs or seek refuge in mysticism, where occult theories feed the romantic element in human nature when reason refuses to be satisfied. The members of one of the largest of such sects are known as Anthroposophists, followers of Rudolph Steiner, whose teachings originally had much in common with theosophy, but took a somewhat different turn. Apparently Steiner was a man of great personal magnetism and fertile imagination in many fields. He established a community in northern Switzerland, where the *Goetheanum* and other buildings of curious design contain lecture rooms, a library, school and craft shops, and living quarters for the residents of the community. Bizarre effects in architecture, symbolic carvings, impressionistic paintings, and fantastic forms of the dance, weave together philosophic theories that form the basis of Steiner's ideas on education. Besides the schools at Basel and Dornach in Switzerland, others have sprung up in Germany, Holland, and England. Even since Steiner's death in 1923 his following has increased and circles of Anthroposophists are to be found in most countries of Europe and in the United States.

The first and largest school under their control was founded under the patronage of a tobacco manufacturer, whose gifts helped to secure a fine school plant on the heights overlooking Stuttgart. The Waldorf School now enrolls almost one thousand pupils from the first grade through high school and has a special class for subnormals. This unity in organization makes the *Waldorfschule* distinc-

tive as an *Einheitsschule*, which breaks down the usual barrier between elementary and secondary departments and enables pupils to continue their work in a single institution for twelve years. The addition of short teacher training courses has been a move toward further unification of school types and wider extension of anthroposophical theories in education. The demand for such courses was evident from the fact that seventeen hundred visitors came to the school in the year 1923-24, and some of them remained a fortnight.

As a private school, the *Waldorfschule* is largely dependent upon its tuition receipts, but gifts enable it to offer some full and partial scholarships. Admission is not limited to children from the families of Anthroposophists. Pupils and teachers of every religious belief are to be found in the school and are taught there by their own pastors. Six Lutheran ministers give religious instruction to pupils of that faith, one Catholic priest comes to the school, and one teacher holds undenominational classes in religion. Leaders in the cult claim that acceptance of their tenets is no hindrance to the retention of faith in any religion.

Classes are large and many schoolroom practices vary little from those found in public schools of the average type. Special attention is devoted to rhythmic expression and to a synthesis of color, music, and language in forms of the dance. Groups of older pupils from the *Goetheanum* community and other centers have gained some celebrity as dancers in Paris, London, and Berlin. In all classes of the Waldorf School frequent use is made of the speaking chorus. Many periods begin regularly with the intoning of a short poem in unison and double periods are frequently broken in the same way. Steiner's own poetry is often used for this purpose, or selections are taken from Goethe and other German poets whose writings have a philosophic tinge.

Arts and crafts are well developed in the Waldorf School, particularly on the secondary school level, where the budding esthetic impulses of adolescents find free expression in many media under the guidance of artist-teachers. Regard for the creative impulse in children's work is evident also in language teaching. Correctness in form is subordinate to the content or ideas which a pupil wishes to express. Thus the amount of time given to grammar and spelling is lessened, although both subjects continue to receive attention at

intervals when drill on common difficulties is found needful. Science teachers in the Waldorf School take a broad view of their field, for they interpret it as a study of man's relation to the universe. They are not only interested in practical and scientific problems, but also in the artistic and spiritual unity of human life, the world of nature and the wonders of science.

The teachers have found it advisable to modify subject divisions and time schedules. This can be done easily in the lower grades and it has become common practice in their secondary classes to organize a system of courses, each lasting six weeks and given in two-hour periods three times a week. Thus it is possible for a class to handle a subject intensively and by a variety of methods without losing interest because of interruption from the ringing of bells and the changing of teachers and rooms. The sequential arrangement of these courses provides for continuity in important fields and yet allows for more freedom of choice than is usual in German secondary schools.

Undoubtedly the work of the *Freie Waldorfschule* has been limited by reason of the special philosophy it represents, but many educators in Germany are liberal enough to overlook its peculiarities and honor its real worth as an institution which has made daring experiments and has upheld ideals which are inspiring to a circle of teachers in the public schools.

The new ministries of education in several states are taking a favorable attitude toward private initiative in education. Some officials have not only been tolerant, but they have coöperated in a few experimental enterprises undertaken by private schools. There is a special bureau for experimental education in the Prussian ministry under the direction of Dr. Karstädt. This bureau has occasionally granted small subsidies to institutions which show promise of making a contribution to school reform. Some schools refuse tentative offers of assistance, because they are still fearful of forfeiting their independence if they have any connection with government officials. But they have not been subject to repression in spite of the widespread demand for equalization of school opportunities. Even those private schools maintaining primary departments in the face of the *Grundschule* law, which aimed to bring all children under ten years into the common school, can be freed from this regulation under

special conditions. On the whole, the present attitude of German school officials toward the progressive private schools is not only tolerant but encouraging. They have decided that there is much merit in diversity of educational practices and they are willing to trust to natural selection to weed out the less worthy school experiments.

CHAPTER XIII

Folk Colleges

"Would it ever have occurred to the builder of a rococo castle that in the fifth generation after his death, the banquet hall he had planned for the magnificent feasts of the feudal aristocracy would be used as a school for serious, scientific study by a class of people who, in his day, were thought fit only for menial service and cannon fodder?"—HILKER

YET that revolutionary change came to pass in Germany when a workers' Folk College took possession of a castle and park at Tinz near Gera. Halls that once echoed to the battle songs and revelry of German nobles resounded after the war with the arguments of proletarian students from Denmark, Holland, England, Belgium, Austria, and Germany. The stately park yielded more than one plot of ground to the zeal of these young workers, who cultivated vegetables for their own needs where serfs formerly tended exotic plants to delight the eyes of their masters. During the 1918 revolution, the last of the princely residents in the castle at Tinz was persuaded by a council of workmen and ex-soldiers to give up his country estate and his city villa. A proletarian group thus acquired suitable property for housing a Folk College and they also laid a solid financial basis for the maintenance of a library and traveling lecture courses.

The fourth estate in Germany has proclaimed its right to a liberal education and has demanded a share in the cultural possessions of the race. No longer is there to be a fixed division of educational privileges—a small fraction for the proletariat, a little more for the bourgeois, and unlimited opportunity only for the lords, clergy, intelligentsia and plutocracy. That was the state of affairs in the past when the masses had access only to elementary and vocational schools, but democracy requires that no restriction be placed on the individual's right to learn at any age nor on the group's power to determine what they wish to have taught in any educational institution.

The Folk Colleges of Germany exemplify this principle of freedom in learning and teaching more fully than any other of the new schools. For adult education is not yet controlled by the state to the same extent as are other institutions of learning. The Folk College is a voluntary development. It is now aided by the state, but it was first of all a creation of the working classes themselves, and they have shaped it to their own needs.

When the November revolution of 1918 brought political enfranchisement to the German laborer, it gave him another privilege he valued quite as much, and that was the right to a higher education. The German citizen may not be political-minded, but he believes devoutly in education. No small part of his enthusiasm for democracy rests upon the fact that the new constitution guarantees to him and his children greater educational privileges.

Hitherto learning has been a badge of caste and higher education a symbol of political power. The establishment of the republic stimulated a movement already begun, which aimed to give a liberal education to every adult in Germany who desired it. The present leaders of the Youth Movement are pressing their demand for ample free time for young working people, not only that the latter may have leisure for physical recreation, but also that they may take advantage of new and old provisions for popular education.

Before the war several of the larger German cities had People's Universities similar to those in England. But these schools for adults at that time made little pretense of including the proletariat. The Humboldt Academy in Berlin, for example, directed its attention for many years to middle class students who had completed a secondary school course but were financially unable to enter the university, and who would have lost their intellectual interests to some extent on entering practical life, if this school had not filled the gap with its hundreds of courses attended by thousands of young people. Since the war, the Humboldt Academy has drawn its students from wider circles of the population, partly because it has joined forces with the Free University, which has always followed a democratic policy and contended that knowledge and intellectual pleasure should not remain the privilege of the aristocracy and bourgeois. The Free University was a pioneer in permitting women to enjoy the same educational opportunities as men. As early as 1913, two fifths of its enrollment was made up of women students. The rural

Folk Colleges or Homes likewise show a shift toward democracy in the character of their student groups. Boarding schools like the Danish models had been established in Schleswig-Holstein long before 1914 and were attended chiefly by the sons of middle class farmers, but to-day such Homes have a mixed enrollment with the lower class predominating and a relatively small number of students from the property-holding class.

There have long been good libraries and museums in Germany, catering to adults particularly, but they did not always invite the common people to come in and use their resources. The tendency to look upon libraries and museums as storehouses of knowledge, interesting chiefly to scholars, began to wane toward the close of the nineteenth century. Extension work began in the decade before the war, and now both institutions are making an appeal to the public of all classes, inviting them to come in and make use of the rich accumulation of cultural resources. Museums and libraries are putting their services at the disposal of all schools and working in the closest coöperation with the Folk Colleges.

The demands of the new democracy swept the extension courses and classes for adults that existed prior to the war into the center of a rising tide of popular education, which found deeper channels and overflowed both city and country districts. In grimy industrial centers, in quiet university towns, and in remote villages, Folk Colleges opened their doors and students came by the thousands in the years following the revolution. After the first wave of enthusiasm had passed, reaction set in. Enrollments decreased and a few schools disappeared, but those surviving continue to draw a considerable fraction of Germany's young people into their classes, although their educational service still lags far behind the need of the masses.

More than 250 Folk Colleges have sprung up in various parts of Germany, indicating that the desire for a broader education is not confined to one class or region, but is felt throughout the nation. Freedom for each group to shape its organization in the way that seems best fitted to local conditions has given rise to several types of schools. In one city the library will sponsor courses of lectures, discussions, practical work, and field trips. In another town some religious society or labor organization may stand behind the undertaking and suppress its own tenets as far as possible, in order

to make the courses offered acceptable to the general public. In another city the Folk College may be an altogether independent organization.

In no case do the Schools for Adults seem to have any direct connection with the elementary or secondary schools and seldom with the universities. It frequently happens, however, that they use school buildings for their meetings and that teachers from various departments of the school system take an active part in the instruction of adults. A few schools are the outgrowth of the settlement idea as it was brought over from England, but in such cases the development of community centers in Germany has been largely the result of the people's enterprise, and is seldom dependent upon gifts from philanthropists.

There are about sixty of the suburban or rural Folk Colleges of the boarding school type, which are similar to the famous schools in Denmark that have existed for half a century and have contributed not a little to the enthusiasm for adult education in other countries. But the typical Folk College in Germany is somewhat different in character from its northern neighbor, because it serves a more industrialized country and has to meet other conditions than those found in rural Denmark. It is more closely akin to the adult education centers found in manufacturing cities and districts of England.

The Folk Colleges in Germany owe their rapid and sound growth to two forces: the eagerness of the young working people for a broader education and the determination of leading educators to unify the nation spiritually by making its culture the common possession of all groups. Youth organizations and school men coöperated to define the field of work for the new schools, to determine what courses should be offered, and how practical matters should be administered. Naturally the educators, as men familiar with the details of school management, took the initiative. Various methods were followed by different cities in founding Folk Colleges. It might have been the librarian, some leader of youth organizations, a school principal, a liberal university professor, or a social worker, who called together others interested in order to lay out a scheme for the first year's work, to secure lecture rooms and to subsidize the undertaking. Such leaders, accustomed to executive work, built the frame for the Folk College, but they depended upon the second

group, the youthful enthusiasts, to give life and meaning to the venture. The influence of the young students has turned the movement toward idealistic goals.

This is the field of work youth has chosen for its new institutions: "Our Folk College is, first of all, a school of philosophy and opinion. Professional and vocational training or education of any sort which aims at raising the individual to a higher social level does not belong to its province. Instead it seeks to strengthen each man's respect for his vocation and to bring men to the conviction that all occupations are alike honorable, that true education and enjoyment of intellectual pleasures may be united with every vocation and every position in life. Therefore, the goal of the Folk College is, before all, the cultivation of inner values."

The distinctive goal of one school in Hamburg is stated thus: "The Folk College serves for the education of the people as a whole. In contrast to the usual lecture courses (in the university) it does not set up any preliminary requirements for knowledge of the subjects to be handled, but it assures to all citizens the opportunity of sharing in our cultural resources."

This is a very significant distinction, for the general concept of higher education has been one demanding a sub-structure of exact preparation. The pre-war school system of Germany made rigid demands that the pupil qualify at each level for promotion to the next step in the school system. The primary school prepared for the secondary school and the secondary school prepared for the university. If an individual lost out at any point he was automatically excluded from the advantages of advanced study. Higher education was thought to be impossible without specific preliminary training. Adult schools are now challenging this restriction by abolishing entrance requirements and offering to mature students the opportunity to work in any field they choose, leaving to them the responsibility for gaining such skills and knowledge as they need to win mastery over the subject.

Along with the Folk Colleges for general education, there are others emphasizing special phases of study. For example: the Fichte School in Hamburg aims for its lectures and discussion groups to arouse in participants "feeling and understanding for the essentially German qualities of our literature, art, philosophy, history, etc." The national emphasis is entirely in keeping with the attention to

indigenous cultural elements, conspicuous in all schools of Germany.

Another Hamburg school, whose ultimate goal presents a sharp contrast to the one just stated, declares itself as a "Community of Youth," whose purpose is not to "transmit the subject matter of education, but to be the bearer of a cultural movement. Our school does not serve any party, group, or sect, but the people as a whole. It does not aim at uniformity, but points out the necessity of selecting the able for leadership. It lays its foundations in the community of youth and is a later stage of the Youth Movement. Special groups will be formed for the purpose of entering into friendly connections with the youth of other lands, in order to realize the 'super-racial' ideal." This international point of view in Folk Colleges is rare. Apparently most groups feel the need of securing national understanding and unity before they approach problems of wider scope.

The Society of Friends encouraged at least two brief summer courses, which brought together international groups. First there were German and English students together in a Folk College and a year later the same German school had Dutch and Danish students as guests. The value of such interchange of ideas is recognized by many leaders, but there are many material difficulties in the way of frequent international sessions.

The evening school is the most common form of the People's College, because it serves the working class. The students' fees are small, usually three marks (seventy-five cents) for a course of twelve lectures and about seven cents for a single lecture. The night school can accommodate large numbers of students, does not require a separate building or faculty of its own and is relatively economical to administrate. Lectures and discussions held outside of working hours comply with the demand that "the Folk College shall not alienate the best brains of the working class from their original vocations." The leaders want these institutions to stand for a unified educational aim that recognizes equal values in head work and hand work. They hope to bring about gradually the realization of that Utopian ideal which conceives of a noble type of man in whom labor and learning are well balanced. They seek to educate new generations of men, who will perform the work of the world better because they have kept in touch with the expansion of technical knowledge, who will treat social problems more intelligently because they have a clearer understanding of man's relation to his en-

vironment and his fellows, who will ennoble their taste through enjoyment of music, art and literature, and who will deepen their insight into the meaning of life by the study of philosophy and religion.

The quest for non-materialistic ideals is especially striking in the evening school of a grimy city like Essen, which lies in the coal and iron district of western Germany. This People's College enrolled fifteen hundred students for a single semester in 1925. Of the forty-eight courses for that year, fourteen were offered in philosophy and psychology; fourteen in art, music and drama; seven in mathematics, science and technology; four in civics, economics and politics; three in German language and literature; two for the study of the locality and nation; and one in history. Two-thirds of the courses were presented in a series of twelve meetings, each lasting one and a half hours. One-third were given in series of six lectures. Some courses were so popular that four parallel sections had to be arranged.

One writer groups the subject matter suitable for the Folk College under four heads: "The Human Body and Its Care;" "Natural Resources and Their Control by Man;" "Man as a Social Being;" and the "Spiritual Possessions of Mankind." This is an ideal scheme, more closely followed by the schools that maintain boarding departments and can therefore provide for physical education through sport and hygiene better than the schools which have their students only once or twice a week in the evening hours. It is impossible to say that any one school is typical in the range of subjects it presents, for all are free to offer those courses desired by their patrons, and there is considerable change from year to year.

The comprehensive course titles might, in some instances, lead one to think that the students were attacking problems with an inadequate groundwork of preparation and knowledge. But teachers in the Folk Colleges hold firmly to the theory that information alone does not permit a student to grasp the meaning of a subject. They insist that practical experience and habits of direct thinking are of equal value in mastering the essentials. These educators say repeatedly: "The problem of Folk College instruction is not the transmittal of extensive knowledge, but the development of thinking power. One main cause of half-education is the overburdening of the mind with lifeless facts. A workman should receive two things from study in the Folk College. He should develop capacity in

thinking, not merely by amassing information, but by thoroughly understanding each subject handled, even though it be limited in scope. He should learn to organize subject matter by taking a survey of the field, and he ought to gain some awareness of the methods and limits of thought by insight into the procedure of research."

It is startling to hear any German defending an educational policy which subordinates specialization in order to elevate the "general view" of a subject. Hitherto German educators have been disposed to decry the broad survey as superficial. While this opinion remains fixed in university circles, there is a marked tendency in secondary schools as well as in Folk Colleges, to favor many-sidedness, or study of a subject from various angles, for the sake of getting a better view of the whole, even though each phase cannot be thoroughly treated. Teachers have come to see that extreme specialization soon leads to a degree of one-sidedness, which causes the student to lose sight of important principles and factual relationships, and cuts the individual off from his fellows in understanding. Although there will always be need for each person to center his knowledge and effort in one or two fields, yet progressive schools now plan to have every student form an acquaintance with several others. Modern research has extended the domain of human knowledge so rapidly and the literature of any subject is so extensive, that the ordinary man is overwhelmed when he attempts to grasp the fundamentals of a subject that is new to him. Consequently, German educators think there is a real place for the adult schools, which will select and correlate information, so that the essential meaning of scientific and cultural tendencies may be transmitted and interpreted to the mass of people, who have little time for study, but who wish to know something about the forces, which are continually affecting their lives.

Teachers at work in the Folk Colleges feel that there must be a re-evaluation of subject matter for use in schools for adults. Traditional standards are of little avail in determining "what knowledge is of most worth" to the factory worker. Most of the students have comparatively little time for classic learning. Static values do not interest them. They want dynamic, transformable knowledge that can be put to some immediate use in solving their problems of adjustment to conflicting tendencies of the day. They wish to be guided to the lines of thought which deal with situations similar to

those they face. They are eager to have the world of books opened to them, so that they may know where to go for information and what to choose that will raise their enjoyment to higher levels. Folk College students seek an education that is utilitarian in the best sense of that term—an education which ennobles life, increases happiness and gives the individual and group a surer grasp on their problems.

Educators are well agreed that the method by which these ends are to be reached in adult schools has three or four parts—lecture, discussion, reading, and occasionally laboratory work or a field trip. The professor presents the salient facts and principles of a subject to the students in the early part of the course, and he arranges for discussion in every meeting. As the students become acquainted with the subject through his presentation and their readings, the rôle of the lecturer declines in importance and the participation of the class occupies a larger place. The teacher continues to be responsible for holding the argument in line with the point and for seeing that progress is made in development of various phases and successive topics. Since readings are voluntary, it requires skill on the part of the chairman to raise the plane of discussion to a level where the class recognizes valid evidence and discountenances mere oratory or personal opinion. The practical experience of the students supplies a background of reality, which is helpful in many courses. Other subjects require laboratory experiments and field trips to bring the light of personal experience to bear on the topics being studied. But most of the courses are not the sort that need much supplementation. So long as the majority of Folk College students are chiefly interested in the fields of philosophy and art, there will be little need for experiments and excursions. Most young persons carry about with them the questions and instincts that put them in touch with these subjects whenever opportunity arises for discussion of them. This is particularly true of the German youth of to-day, who finds his freedom has brought with it a multitude of personal and national problems.

It is evident that the Folk College, like the Community School and the School Country Home, is not merely striving for better principles of education in the narrow sense of instruction, but that it is much more concerned with the attainment of social values and, therefore, it finds in communal life the situation, which best permits

the development of those broad educational ideals, which seem inseparable from a true democracy. The advance of the Folk College movement has been marked by the founding of Homes, where the students live and work together for periods of two, three, or four months. This type of school is a true successor of the Danish Folk Colleges, whose influence has spread so widely in Denmark since Grundtvig founded the first center in 1851. It is said nowadays that every third Dane has been a student in a Folk College, so that national life is penetrated with the ideals of those institutions. In 1918 there were sixty-three Folk Colleges in Denmark.

That year saw the first three Folk College Homes established in Germany, and the number of additions increased yearly up to the peak in 1925, when fifteen new homes were opened. The total now stands near sixty. It is evident that special groups, not altogether disinterested, are making use of this opportunity to aid young people and perhaps to gain some influence over them, for in 1926 there were thirty homes sponsored by Protestant organizations, two by Catholics, three by socialists, five by other political parties and only twelve were free from any obvious political or religious bias. These facts do not necessarily mean that the Folk Colleges of Germany are less liberal than those of Denmark. In the latter country there is much unity of religious belief. But in Germany there is great diversity in religion and likewise in politics, so that it seems only fair to allow each group to conduct a school for its own followers, if it so desires. In most cases, the teachings of such institutions remain liberal enough to attract students from other sects and parties.

Except in rare cases, the policy of the home leaders is grounded on the larger purposes of the Folk College movement, rather than on special doctrines. "At the outset . . . there were not a few men who discovered overnight that their hearts were so friendly to the proletariat that they always wanted to be present when the 'intellectual hunger of the masses' was discussed, in order to cook the broth of their own political party or religious sect over the new flame." But false leaders were weeded out in the early years of reaction and hardship, so that the present directors of Folk Colleges for the most part actually represent a group of disinterested educators, concerned with ideal purposes.

The homes are designed to meet the special needs of young men and women from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, when they are just starting out in life and trying to make some connection be-

tween the facts they were taught in schools and the ideas they meet in the world. The Folk College Home tries to help them through this period of orientation by bringing them into close touch with older people and leaders of their own age, so that they may thresh out their common problems in conversation while they are at work in the household and gardens, enjoying sports and festivals, or joining in courses of instruction and field trips.

Since most of the students, who come to live in the homes, are young working people, perhaps jobless, the cost is kept low—eighteen to twenty-five dollars a month with further reductions made frequently. In one case, at least, the students apply one year in advance and are notified of their admission to the schools, so that they may save enough money during the year previous to meet their expenses for the school course. The sessions are of short duration, rarely exceeding three or four months, and the subject matter for class work is concentrated around a few centers.

The Folk College Homes are more specialized in their purposes than are the great city evening schools. Among the former there are institutions established by political parties of the left wing, which aim to indoctrinate students with radical theories. There are schools near industrial centers, where the teachers hope to give young people from the cities some intellectual resources that will ameliorate the devitalizing effect of factory work. There are rural schools, which endeavor to give the country youth a broader outlook and yet not detach his interests from their roots in the soil.

The daily program of a Folk College Home in *Isergrenzgau* shows the balance of activities sought in these little communities, where forty or fifty students live with three or four teachers.

6 to 7 —Rising, exercise and baths.
7 to 8 —Breakfast and care of rooms.
8 to 11—Three lectures with discussions.
11 to 12—Singing or physical recreation.
12 —Dinner.
1 to 3 —Rest and free time.
3 to 5 —Arts and crafts.
5 to 7 —Sports, songs and free group meetings.
7 —Supper.
8 to 9 —Lectures, concerts, plays and social affairs.

This school is expressly planned to bring the young people of the region into more intimate relation to their own environment, and not to transform them into cosmopolitans. The locality is rural, but so industrialized that a factory chimney rises from every valley. The school's enrollment is mixed as to political and religious affiliation, as well as to economic status. One third of the students pay full fees, one third are granted a reduction and one third are admitted free. Even the full sum barely pays the cost of food. In lectures and discussions, this institution seeks to aid students in their thinking about two problems, nature and civilization, and the individual and society. In handling materials, which relate to these contrasted ideas, the teachers do not aim to popularize the treatment of any subject unduly, but simply to put it into common terms.

This school places a great value on the family life, which brings young men and women together in a comradely relationship, permits students to have incidental contacts with the teachers and to join in excursions and social affairs. No less important is the unusual opportunity for enjoying physical recreation and gaining knowledge of health requirements. Temperance is a matter of course, and neither beer nor tobacco is used by the students. Although most of them are trained in some craft at entrance, they are encouraged to develop it further or learn a new one with particular attention to the related art elements, which are frequently neglected in vocational training and commercial work. This home seeks to keep in touch with former students by arranging short courses that will bring them back for a week or two to renew contacts with friends and ideas so that the work of the school may not be hastily wiped out by other impressions, but that it may continue to affect the thinking and acts of old students, in order that each may become an agent of Folk Education in the outside world.

A Folk College at *Dreissigacker* is of particular interest because of its method of selecting the subject matter of courses. Instead of announcing a program of lectures and discussions in advance, the students are asked to present a series of questions that concern their own lives. These are divided into courses by the teachers. The principles underlying each main subject are presented at the outset and the questions asked are used throughout to guide the course. That this method of organizing subject matter has been found workable, is some evidence of the quality of thinking in the student group.

Students are expected to take a stand on all important points, to defend their position and attack that of others. The teacher remains neutral, but works to improve clarity in thought and statement. A marked distinction is drawn between arguments based on adequate proof and those built only of glittering phrases. Discussion usually closes with the question of debate unsettled, for the instructor does not attempt to formulate an answer for the class, but prefers to have them hold an attitude of suspended judgment and think further for themselves.

The minister of education for Prussia emphasizes the liberal purpose of the Folk College, which aims to cultivate intellectual tolerance in its students and "to strengthen them in honest struggle with different points of view." This is true of the majority of schools and courses, but there are some exceptions. The Free Proletarian School at *Remscheid,* for example, is controlled by a group which believes in class war. They are not so much concerned with development of the individual and unification of the country, as they are with readjustment of social inequalities. Within their own circle they concentrate on this problem by endeavoring to dislodge from the minds of young and old any vestiges of bourgeois prejudice and religious doctrine that stand in the way of the communistic program. On the outside, they spread propaganda for social justice although they see no promise of fulfillment as yet.

This radical colony has endured severe hardships, for their narrow views have estranged the general public and they have been altogether dependent on the support of working people, who were themselves suffering from poverty and unemployment. Still the school has tried to remain self-supporting. They constructed some of their own buildings and raised food supplies for their needs. Unlike other Folk Colleges, the Colony at *Remscheid* is made up of people of all ages. It is not an institution for adult education only, for the leaders consider the "play school" for young children of special importance, since they believe they cannot begin too early to impress their doctrines on the coming generation. By dramatic representation of the class struggle and social injustice, by discussion of the harsh realities of unemployment, imprisonment and poverty, and by introducing the children to communal life, they expect to build an attitude of opposition to the capitalistic régime.

A different type of school, but one which prizes its independence

equally, is found at *Neudietendorf* in Thuringia, where a Farmers' Folk College chose to make its own way rather than receive outside aid. The leaders refused a castle offered them for a School Home. They distrusted the influence that might come to them from connection with the adult education movement of the cities. The sober, skeptical nature of country people could not be roused by propaganda and they declared, "City spirit does not bring us what we need, and great beginnings often lead to small endings." Instead of starting their school in a castle, they were content to share the clubhouse of a local youth organization for a time. Refusing the aid of national workers for the Folk Colleges, this school was called into being by three leaders in farmers' associations, three village pastors and twenty-five farmer lads with a few of their fathers.

Funds were scarce in the beginning, but the students brought a little money and quantities of produce to pay their tuition and provide for their living in the months of residence at the school. Rye, potatoes, beans, bacon, barley, sausage, lard, eggs and sugar in definite amounts made up the required entrance fee. Teachers often gave their services in the early days, but only one man from the city abandoned his post prematurely "perhaps because he found five pounds of flour or half a pound of bacon too little pay for a lecture." After four years the school had ready money and began making extensive building plans with the aid of the local agricultural association and the minister for Folk Education in that province. A permanent director gives full time to the school when it is in session, and during the vacation he works with youth organizations and agricultural clubs.

The aim of this school is to help young farmers gain independence in thought and judgment, quick and clear understanding of matters concerning them closely, ready speech and some skill in written expression. Now that this school feels assured that it can meet local needs and stand on its own feet, it is reaching out for connections with the Folk Colleges elsewhere. It has exchanged teachers, books and students with the older rural schools in Schleswig-Holstein.

Certain common principles of government are basic in all Folk Colleges. They are autonomous organizations, independent of the state as are no other large educational institutions in Germany. The provincial or state bureau of education may contribute subsidies for the maintenance of a Folk College, but it does not thereby

acquire the right to regulate the administrative or educational policy of any college. The Minister of Education, Science and Art may issue suggestions for adult education, but no school is bound to follow them and they have not yet been published in detail, as are the outlines for elementary, secondary and technical schools. Even the universities are not so free from government control, since they must adhere to fixed entrance requirements, faculty standards, program sequences, examination and degree regulations.

The control of each Folk College is divided among those most concerned with the work of the institution. Usually there is a governing board, on which one third of the members represent the faculty, one third the students and one third such local powers as government officials, and religious, political or educational organizations which contribute to the support of the school or are concerned about its influence in the community. This general council determines policies and balances the interests of various groups. For actual administrative purposes, there is a smaller executive committee headed by a director, who is distinctly the representative of the faculty and his office may rotate among the active teachers. The students enrolling for each course, elect one of their number to manage routine connected with the work of each class and to represent that group of twenty to thirty persons in the student council, which is another avenue of connection between students and faculty, or students and governing board.

Besides these semi-official arrangements for insuring self-government in the Folk Colleges, there exists a more direct means of registering student attitude toward the institution and its offerings. Since the choice of courses rests with the students, a course that is undesired or one having been found unsatisfactory, showing a small enrollment, is automatically discontinued or basically altered. Just as the students in medieval times followed a scholar, who could give them what they wanted, so the students in Folk Colleges flock to the man whose work best meets their needs. This liberty is greater than the academic freedom common to all German universities.

The Folk College disregards all props and rewards for perseverance. A student may enroll and attend the class as infrequently as he likes. The class roll will not be taken, as it still is, to our shame, in American universities. The student's grasp of the subject will never be tested or his work graded. His achievement will never

be recognized by the bestowal of a diploma or a degree. His study will seldom have any direct application to his practical occupation or be of use to him in the way of business advancement. In short, his pursuit of knowledge must be for the sake of the thing itself and not for any extraneous reward. That puts the Folk College on a nobler plane than the great mass of institutions for higher learning.

With due respect to the ideals of the Folk Colleges and to the standards of the Homes described by Hilker there still remain certain practical questions as to their achievements:

"Are the Folk Colleges attracting students who really need their service? Is there a relatively large proportion of working people among the students? Are the schools providing for young women as well as men? Do their students come with a limited educational background? Are the groups made up of young people chiefly?"

If it is ever permissible to answer a series of questions with a single affirmative, it can be done in this case. For data on all these points bears out the assertion that the Folk Colleges are fulfilling their intended purpose of supplying higher education to groups hitherto neglected. In some respects their achievement is far from being as great as they desire, but it is regarded as satisfactory at this stage of their development. Ten years is a short space of time in the history of educational institutions.

The normal proportion of workers is about twenty-five per cent of the enrollment although certain schools report as high as sixty per cent. Many schools have admitted women on an equality with men, sometimes in the same classes and again in special courses dealing with women's particular interests. The number of women in attendance is always less than half of the total enrollment.

The vast majority of students, more than three fourths, come with only an elementary school education. A small percentage have attended the German Middle School, which is a prolongation of the elementary course. More than one tenth have attended a secondary school at some time, but the number of graduates is much less. Only a few individuals have spent any time in the university. Therefore, it may be truly said that the students now attending Folk Colleges would have had no chance of securing a higher education before these institutions came into existence.

The Folk Colleges are especially eager to attract students between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, and these limits are

held to rather closely in the School Homes, which select their residents carefully. But the large evening schools admit people of all ages. While one third of their students are under twenty years and another third between twenty and thirty, there remains a group, whose ages range to fifty and above.

There has been a marked fluctuation in the apparent popularity of the Folk Colleges. When the first new courses were announced after the war, there were enormous enrollments for a year or two. Then the attendance fell off one third as enthusiasts, who had no real intellectual interest and no persistence in study, disappeared to take lighter recreation in "movies" and cafés, while their more serious fellow workers remained faithful to the new schools. Since 1922 there has been a slow but steady growth. Several schools have a special membership provision that tends to raise attendance. Clubs and other organizations may register and offer the privileges of the Folk College to all their members. This is not only economical for the individual but it extends the influence of the schools perceptibly and enables them to work in close coöperation with many youth organizations. In 1923 the Humboldt School enrolled 135 societies on its list of 6,500, thereby almost doubling the number of persons that might be reached by the school.

Still the fact remains that popular education is spread rather thinly over the masses, if one considers the quantity which falls to any one student, not to mention the millions of young people, who remain untouched by the work of the Folk High Schools. One school states that ninety per cent of their enrolled students take only one course a semester; that is, a total of either nine or eighteen hours is spent in the lecture and discussion periods during the half year. There is no way of knowing whether an equivalent amount of time is given to reading, thinking, or argument outside the lecture room. A few students carry two or three courses simultaneously. The same school reports an average class attendance of seventy per cent of the enrollment.

The rural regions are still very inadequately served, partly because of the lethargy villagers show in the face of a new undertaking lying somewhat outside their experience, but chiefly because of the greater per capita cost of boarding schools, which are almost a necessity when the students are scattered over a wide district with limited facilities for transportation.

There are various shades of public opinion as to the value of the Folk Colleges. The most radical labor groups recognize the need for an extension of education, but they distrust a school that tends to postpone class war by reconciling caste differences and pacifying the proletarian group with tidbits of upper class culture. Moderate radicals are enthusiastic over the prospect of raising the cultural standard of the masses and educating leaders, who will know how to direct their progress. Liberals are generally sympathetic toward efforts made to broaden the views and interests of working people. Conservatives look with little favor upon the movement for adult education. In the first place, intellectual and social aristocrats seriously doubt whether the proletarian group is mentally capable of assimilating and appreciating cultural goods of a high order.

In the second place, the upper class still has reason to fear the consequences of freedom in thought and speech. They have long been accustomed to restraint of opinion and to reliance on the obedient conformity of the lower classes. The imperial government preserved the foundation of national stability by giving a narrow, dogmatic type of education to the subject class. Now these people are emancipated and are entertaining radical ideas and questioning orthodox traditions with as much freedom as is permitted the intellectual class. Some of the latter are asking, "What is to become of a nation when the masses begin to challenge the established institutions of state, church, family and school?" The anxiety of the conservatives may be justified, but they are not tardy in laying the blame upon the Folk Colleges.

A revolution in the beliefs of the common man had begun long before the war when few of these schools existed. They have only given his questionings a convenient and legitimate outlet. The suppression of free thought and free speech, which Germany practiced for years, is resulting in a rich harvest of radicalism in all fields—politics, art, religion and morals. The man who lost his job again and again before 1918, whenever his radical sympathies were disclosed, is now able to do a day's work with his fellows and openly speak his views in the lecture hall at night. He is a free man with free institutions to serve him, and one of these is the Folk College.

In the third place, conservative opinion, represented especially by the universities, is criticizing the scholastic standard of work offered in these Colleges. Unfortunately, the new educational institu-

tions gave an opening to such criticism when they adopted the name *Volkshochschule*. *Hochschule*, or *high school*, has long been the German equivalent for *university*. The two terms are used interchangeably and one is as common in usage as the other. The name, *high school*, in its new application to adult education, was used first by the Danish Folk High Schools. Then post-war conditions gave prominence to old and new *Volkshochschulen* in Germany. The present writers would like to offer the name *college* as a compromise between the term *school* suggesting elementary education and the word *university*, connoting graduate standards of work. College is not yet applied to any type of German school, but its standards in the United States are higher than those of the secondary school and lower than those of the university, so that they might represent well the actual goals of the Folk Colleges, which aim to give their students a liberal higher education.

From the American point of view any discussion as to the right of the Folk Colleges to call themselves universities may seem a trifling quibble, since we do not have the same reverence for an official title or for exactitude in terminology as do German educators. But the debate on a name has brought out many points of interest regarding the theory of adult education in Germany and the policy followed in the new schools there.

The leaders defend their claim to a name suggesting academic distinction by asserting that much of their work is of university standard. They maintain that educative capacity and achievement are as much a matter of maturity, desire and experience as of preliminary training. Take a workman of average intelligence at twenty-two years, who has added some trade training and worldly experience to his elementary school education, and place him beside a university student of the same age and grade of native intelligence. Then see which one is better able to think clearly and independently on social problems of the day, to handle ideas and seek out information. The young laborer may not show the same skill at first in assembling references and he may lack the historical background for making a broad interpretation of present conditions, but these are lacks that can be supplied if the student's will is aroused. Teachers in the Folk Colleges also assert that the workingman's attack on the core of immediate problems is all the more satisfactory, because it is direct and unencumbered with borrowed and half digested ideas. Too often

the university student becomes entangled in more data than he can intelligently handle and he merely echoes the wisdom of others instead of working out his own analysis of the facts. If ability in discrimination and independence in judgment are criteria for the university standard, then the Folk College professors feel that their students have a claim to that rank.

The name, *Hochschule,* rather than merely *Schule,* was desired as an indication of the method to be followed in all courses. A German associates the method of question and answer with the elementary school and that of lectures and note-taking with the upper secondary school. But he thinks of the university as a place where reading and discussion are the principal modes of learning. To be sure, there are many lectures in the university also, but attendance at lectures there is voluntary and many a student neglects lectures in order to read more widely and to arm himself better for discussions that take place in seminar rooms and students' lodgings. Recognizing this need for self-expression and argument, the Folk Colleges have done away with the pure lecture method and have adopted the form of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft,* or working group, for all courses. The enrollment is limited to twenty or thirty for each course, so that there is a real opportunity for every student to gain the floor and share in discussions. Since each class is organized and selects its own chairman, every member feels some responsibility for the success of the course.

In pointing out the quality of their work Folk College teachers refer again and again to the fact that their classes are small, whereas the university professor may lecture to hundreds. Intensive work in a limited group has obvious advantages. More questions can be raised and the students can take an active part in solving problems. The time arrangement is so made that discussion may follow immediately after the lecture instead of being postponed until a separate seminar period as in the university where it may be conducted by another instructor so that connections with the argument of the lecture are made difficult, both because of the lapse of time and the change in leadership.

The scholastic rank of faculty members is another criterion of standard in an institution for higher education. It goes without saying that the university professor must be a university man with a sufficient number of degrees and honors. Men with university train-

ing also conduct courses in the Folk Colleges, but again these institutions show their liberalism by calling experienced men from other fields. Just as they believe that many a laborer is as able intellectually as the university student, so they argue that many a man without a university degree is as much a master of his subject and as successful a teacher as is the professor, who has settled comfortably into a university chair and perhaps grown deaf to the rumblings of the real world. Men from elementary, secondary and trade schools conduct courses in the Folk Colleges. Librarians, government officials, ministers, professional men and technologists give lectures on their particular fields of work. With regard to both professors and students the German Folk Colleges recognize that experience is a great teacher.

The guardians of higher learning in the old, established state universities have been quick to attack the Folk High Schools on the ground that the latter are deluding their students with the promise of a higher education, while they are actually turning them out only half-educated. The leaders of the Folk Colleges answer by defining the half-educated person as one, who struts in smug conceit under the illusion that he has gained a considerable amount of knowledge, while the truly educated man humbly recognizes the fact that his bit of wisdom is only a small part of the many realms of learning, which defy the efforts of any individual to master in a single lifetime. They claim that their students are less likely to overestimate their store of knowledge than are university graduates, who receive the official stamp of the doctorate to mark their achievement as if that terminated educational growth.

The heads of the Folk Colleges grant that there are many gaps in the preparation of their students and many irregularities in the organization of courses, but that these shortcomings tend to rectify themselves over a period of years. For that reason, some of the leaders prefer the evening school, which the young workman may attend for three, six, or more years, to the Home where the courses are crowded into three to five months. They dislike the implication that the educational process can ever be finished. They prefer to think of it as going on and on, as long as a person lives. They believe that the evening school establishes a habit of using those hours of the day for reading, study or discussion and they have some hope that such a habit, formed in youth, as a pleasurable

and voluntary experience, may persist and serve to enrich life during years of maturity and old age.

Before all, they regard the students' desire for learning as a factor not to be ignored in estimating the probability of high standards of work in a Folk College. When a youth studies of his own free will, sacrificing his leisure, practicing economies, fighting against weariness, and trying to form study habits that have been broken or perhaps never formed, he may have a hard struggle to learn very much, but what he wins is his own. The universities have many earnest workers, too, and more brilliant students perhaps, but they harbor a type of dilettante, who is rarely found in the Folk College. The character test for entrance into these new schools is more severe than that for admission to a regular university.

There may be students in the Folk Colleges, who hear the lectures intermittently, think little and read less. The large majority, however, are reported by the schools as steady habitués of the library. Many German librarians nowadays keep a close check on individual readers, so that they know accurately what books have been taken out by each person. Perhaps voluntary reading would be a better criterion of university standard than assigned references and required papers. Possibly the Folk High School should give a place to optional written reports, as they have been tried in a few of the Homes. The idea does not find favor with most teachers, because Germany has been flooded with printed matter on every subject. The Colleges may be right in sticking to the "living word" in lectures and discussions, thereby avoiding any increase in the national plague of overpublication.

The conservative's challenge of the name *university* is not important in itself, nor is it necessary to compare the standards of educational institutions serving two distinctly different purposes. But it is vital for the Folk Colleges to secure recognition for the quality of their work, where it is good, and not to be merely tolerated as if they were inferior schools for the poor and uneducated classes. Such a reputation would not only injure their cause with the general public, but it would lessen their influence with the students.

In less than a decade these schools have accomplished a great deal, but not so much as was expected in the years immediately following the revolution. Then the leaders dreamed of universal adult education that would revolutionize the lives of working people. Young

students thought they could seize the key to universal knowledge. Both were disappointed. Educators found that the first ardor of their classes cooled quickly and students discovered the road to learning was long and laborious. The high tide of enthusiasm passed, and the subsequent ebb of interest was discouraging by contrast, but it has been followed by a period of more stable growth. The Folk Colleges still see their problem to be the transmission of cultural values to working people to the end that the spiritual unity of the nation may be strengthened and elevated. They are faithful to the principles on which their institutions were first founded—autonomy of the school and the student, desire to learn as the criterion for admission, satisfaction in achievement as the reward of endeavor, freedom in thought and speech for individuals and groups, and the reciprocal demand of tolerance for the opinions of others.

In allowing for diversity of opinion, the leaders of the Folk Colleges have not lost sight of their patriotic purpose, which is to bind the German people together in a real democracy of feeling. They believe that the spiritual unity of the German nation can only be secured by developing a sense of kinship among all classes of people. In their opinion, the fate of the republic depends upon an integration of castes and regions, which formerly held themselves apart. The problem of reaching the masses and shaping public opinion is peculiarly difficult, because of the great number of dialects and the quantity of partisan journals.

Except for the hours spent in the classroom during eight years of the elementary school, most persons of the lower class speak the local dialect for the greater part of their lives, and thus tend to lose touch with people of the middle and upper classes, who pride themselves on speaking High German, the literary language of the country. High German has never yet gained full control of the spoken word, so as to become the common coinage for exchange of ideas between all groups. Wherever a confusion of tongue exists, there is sure to arise some lack of understanding and sympathy. When the speech of the locality is more commonly used than that of the nation, interest is likely to be centered on local affairs and seldom expanded to real grasp of national problems. Under such conditions it is hard to develop the wider point of view, which is indispensable if the people are to control their own political destiny.

In a similar fashion, the fact that each religious and political

group has its own newspapers and set of subscribers, who tend to read only the journal which echoes their own opinions, puts another obstacle in the way of gaining a liberal outlook on matters of common concern. The high development of the printing art in Germany and the cheapness of publication have flooded the country with books, pamphlets and papers of all sorts. The fact that the people attained a high degree of literacy in the efficient schools of the empire now makes it easy for every person to put his ideas into print, and he is sure to gain a circle of readers among those who think as he does. But journals, which attempt to give controversial matters a disinterested presentation are rare and they would seldom be the type of paper read by the common people. Because of these two factors, which work against national unity, the Folk Colleges feel that they may be able to do the nation a service by bringing together groups representing various backgrounds and opinions, and by leading them to neutral ground beyond regional dialects and a partisan press.

If the Folk Colleges can help to develop genuine, strong, national feeling by permitting the people of all ranks to share alike in the culture of their race, they will have set up a strong bulwark to support the new republic. Since its foundation it has feared two enemies, communism without and irreconcilable partisans within. The internal foe was the more dangerous, for it threatened to disrupt the young democracy at critical moments and it still causes serious difficulty whenever an issue arises. Innumerable lines of cleavage spring from points of difference about politics, religion, caste, business, education, language and customs. The Folk College does not try to make a frontal attack in order to wipe out differences of opinion, but it does seek to bring about adjustments by arranging for all partisans to meet on neutral ground in the classroom and, so far as possible, to get down to fundamental principles by methods of impartial presentation, independent investigation and open discussion. The lecturer tries to present all sides of a question; the students are free to procure evidence from any source; and all are allowed a fair hearing in discussion.

From the outset educational reformers knew that it would take a generation and more for the ideals of democracy to be disseminated through the regular schools. In the meantime the new republic was struggling with many inner conflicts. Citizens trained in the old elementary schools did not always have the power or vision to face the

responsibilities of democratic citizenship. If the first years of the reborn nation were to bring social progress, some immediate aid had to be given the masses in order that their understanding of national problems should be clearer and their decisions fairer. If the idealism of the Youth Movement was to be turned to account, the thinking of the young people required some guidance and much solid food. The Folk Colleges are one device for diverting the spiritual force of the Youth Movement into channels that promise to give depth and continuity to the imaginative flights of young dreamers.

Educators are fully aware of the cast of mind in the youth of the day and the unique independence these new institutions must keep, if they are to remain true to the spirit that produced them. The Folk Colleges might have taken for their creed the words that Ibsen wrote from Germany in 1870, "The State must go! That will be a revolution that will find me on its side. Undermine the idea of the state; set up in its place spontaneous action and the idea that spiritual relationship is the only thing that makes for unity, and you will start the elements of a liberty that will be something worth possessing."

PART THREE

Status of the New Education

CHAPTER XIV

Is the School Reform Permanent?

"The wishes of those entitled to an education are to be considered as far as possible."—GERMAN CONSTITUTION

THE crystallization of the German School Reform in legal documents is a guaranty that all schools of the nation are affected to some degree already and that the broad changes in educational policy will be fairly permanent. In the Federal Constitution, adopted at Weimar in 1919, is to be found the Magna Charta of the new German schools. For the first time the training of German children is being shaped according to the will of the people themselves, and the national system of education is no longer regulated from above by the will of officials and monarchs. It is fitting that this Constitution, the Bill of Rights of the German people, should give a large place to statements concerning the responsibility of the nation for public education. It is a direct recognition of the fact that the success of any democracy depends upon the enlightenment of its citizens. The separate states of the German republic give corresponding weight to matters of education in their various constitutions. Local governing bodies for cities, districts and villages make such special provisions as apply to their particular communities.

Article Ten of the Federal Constitution provides for the coöperation of the three departments of government, federal, state and local boards, in the establishment and maintenance of schools. It designates clearly the function of each department. The Federal Constitution lays down general principles but states and localities are left free to regulate the details of organization and school procedure.

The outstanding characteristic of German school legislation since the war is its liberal tendency. Instead of minute, dictatorial regulations the new laws are couched in broad terms permitting flexibility and adaptation to local situations. Many school authorities now issue

their bulletins in the form of suggestions instead of rules and requirements. Stipulations with the force of official commands have given way to permissive decrees or recommendations, which introduce a new plan of work and point out its practicability, thus inciting the initiative of progressive teachers who wish to carry out reforms in their own schools. This form of suggestion partially avoids the resistance of conservatives who might react violently if required to adopt new procedure against their will.

The essential principles behind the school reform are set forth briefly in various sections of the Federal Constitution. "Public institutions shall provide for the education of youth." Thus the founders of the republic voice their conviction that the common school must be strengthened and caste schools wiped out if Germany is to become a true democracy. They emphasize public responsibility for all parts of the educational system. The number and types of public schools must correspond to the needs existing. Every person must be able to find within a reasonable distance a public school to which he may be admitted and which can offer him an education in line with his abilities and needs. This constitutional provision applies to all stages of the training of youth in institutions of elementary, secondary or university level, for no age limit is given and the youth period is commonly interpreted in Germany as extending to twenty-five years, which is approximately the minimum age required to obtain a doctorate at any university there.

The clause stressing public institutions has special significance in reference to the education of girls. It was long the custom in Germany, as in certain other European countries, to leave the training of girls chiefly in the hands of private agencies. Since 1910 there has been a marked rise in the number and standards of state secondary schools for girls. With the birth of the republic came fuller recognition of the equality due women in matters of education and of their importance in the building of a unified nation. Lines of social caste tend to be more strictly drawn among women than among men. This was particularly true in Germany when the higher education of upper and middle class girls was given in select schools, or *Töchterschulen*. Many of these still exist, although state secondary schools for girls are increasing in popularity, tending to break down caste education and to make the schooling of boys and girls more alike than heretofore.

For half a century Germany has been distinguished as a nation with practically no illiteracy because of her comprehensive system of compulsory elementary education, and with a high percentage of skilled workmen because of well developed facilities for continuation school work. Now the standard is placed even higher by a section of the Constitution, which raises the age for leaving school to eighteen.

"Compulsory education shall be universal. This purpose shall be served primarily by the elementary schools with at least eight grades, followed by the continuation school up to the completion of the eighteenth year. Instruction and school supplies shall be free in elementary and continuation schools."

The changes indicated in this provision are significant. First in importance is the requirement that every German child remain in school from the time he is six until he has completed his eighteenth year. Children under six are not affected by school laws, because attendance in the kindergartens is optional and the latter are controlled by the Department of Juvenile Welfare instead of the school authorities. The compulsory school age has actually been raised four years since continuation schools are made compulsory for all pupils, both in the city and in the country. Boys and girls who are not in a full time middle or secondary school between the ages of fourteen and eighteen are required to attend some sort of vocational school for four years for at least eight hours a week. All employers of children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen must provide time during the day for their young employees to attend some compulsory vocational school. The clause providing for free school supplies has had little general effect up to the present time because of the poverty of the states. No doubt in the future materials of instruction will be furnished free of cost to all pupils in the compulsory schools. Needy children have long been supplied with the school equipment their parents were unable to purchase.

The third significant point in this section is that public school attendance rather than instructional compulsion is emphasized. This change is aimed directly at the private school and at tutorial instruction in the home. Hitherto it had been a common practice for many children, who were not sent to the public schools, to be educated in private groups, preparatory classes of secondary schools, or in the family. The present constitutional provision is so fashioned as to

force the abandonment of these practices, in order to bring all children at the early elementary level under the influence of the state, and to avoid undemocratic groupings of young children in schools for the "select." However, a place for the private school as a center of pedagogical experimentation is still recognized and its privileges secured by law.

The organization and articulation of the parts of the school system are of basic importance to school reform measures. "The public school system shall be organically constructed. The middle and secondary school systems shall be developed on the basis of a *Grundschule*, or Foundation School, common to all. The development shall be governed by the varying requirements of vocations." This quotation from Article 146 of the Federal Constitution aims directly toward equalization of opportunity in education. The public school system of Germany was not constructed as an organic whole before the war, but it consisted of distinct and parallel systems having little or no connection with one another. At the present time, the German school system is becoming a well-knit, closely articulated organism, so arranged that a pupil can pass from one school to another without loss of time and without retardation.

The pre-war organization of the schools reflected the existence of social castes and forbade the development of a democratic form of society, because the schools, separated as they were, educated people apart and tended to split society into groups, which could be classified on the basis of the education which they had received. Now every child must attend a common elementary school for four years between the ages of six and ten. All other schools are built upon this foundation. Out of this basic school develop the middle, secondary and continuation schools, as well as the last four grades of the elementary school. Transfer from the elementary schools to the middle and secondary schools and transfer from the middle schools to the secondary schools has been made easy, whereas it was very difficult before. It is even possible under the new law for students of marked ability to transfer from continuation schools to the university, a step almost unheard of in former years.

Article 146 of the Constitution provides that: "The admission of a child to a particular school shall be governed by his ability and his aptitude and not by the economic and social position or the religious belief of his parents." This clause in the Constitution contains two

points most significant for the organization of schools and for the whole social problem. The old German school system was so organized as to restrict attendance in higher schools largely to those people belonging to better social groups and to those endowed with considerable means. While the Constitution provides that no child shall be excluded from a school because of his economic or social status, all secondary and middle schools still charge an annual tuition fee, $50 and $10 respectively, which tends to exclude many who might otherwise attend.

The Constitution meets this problem by prescribing assistance to boys and girls in need of financial help. "To enable those in poor circumstances to attend secondary and higher schools, the *Reich*, the states and the municipalities shall provide from the public funds educational allowances to the parents of those children who are considered qualified for further education in middle and secondary schools until the completion of such education." This provision has not yet been carried out to a very wide extent, owing to the impoverishment of Germany since the war. However, there are a large number of scholarships and subsidies granted every year to worthy pupils and no doubt the number will be increased in the future as economic conditions improve.

The principle governing progress through the German schools is somewhat different from that found in America. Our slogan is, "An open road for everybody," while the German equivalent is, "An open road for the capable." In other words, a pupil finishing the *Grundschule* at the age of ten years is not allowed to attend a secondary school reserved for capable children, simply because his father happens to possess sufficient means to pay his tuition. Each pupil is expected to possess a high degree of intelligence and aptitude if he applies for admission to the secondary school. Each must pass an entrance examination difficult enough to prove his ability to do superior school work.

The last phrase of the citation from Article 146 is of exceptional significance: "The admission of a child to a particular school shall be governed by his ability and aptitude and *not by the religious belief of his parents.*" The struggle as to whether a German child, during the compulsory school period, shall receive his education chiefly in denominational or interdenominational schools has raged for the past ten years and without a doubt it is a survival of the

Kulturkampf of other centuries. The recent argument has been going on ever since the Constitutional Assembly met in Weimar in 1919. Article 146 was in reality a compromise effected during the debate over the new Constitution. As is usually the case with compromises this article has become the basis of widely different interpretations and has caused much dissension in Germany. The question is one which concerns elementary schools only, for the secondary schools have long been interdenominational and liberal in their religious teachings.

Under the Federal Constitution there are three types of elementary schools with respect to the place of religion in them: the interdenominational, the sectarian and the secular schools. In this connection it is necessary to recall the fact that religious instruction is a compulsory school subject. That is, schools are generally expected to offer instruction in religion. The secular school is the only type legally exempted from the requirement of religion in the course of study. No pupil in any school can be required to take part in religious instruction or in church services unless his parents consent to it. Teachers give religious instruction and conduct church ceremonies only upon declaration of their willingness to do so.

The Constitution has now plainly set up the *Simultansschule*, a form of interdenominational school, as the basic type for the education of children during the elementary school period. A *Simultansschule* is a school in which teachers are appointed and pupils are enrolled without reference to their religious beliefs. A division of pupils on denominational lines takes place only in religious instruction, while class work in other subjects is given to all pupils in common, regardless of their religious affiliation, by a teacher without respect to his religious faith. The alternative to this type of school is the denominational school, at which only teachers of the same denomination are appointed and at which only pupils following the same religious beliefs are enrolled, with the result that pupils are taught all subjects by teachers of their own faith.

While the Federal Constitution gives preference to the interdenominational school, it adds a proviso whereby parents may request the establishment of elementary schools of their own religious belief or philosophy within their own communities, as is the case in Holland.

There have been several attempts in recent years to pass a Federal school law deciding the issue in favor of denominational schools. This pressure comes largely from the Catholic Church working through political parties in which it has a strong representation. The Christian Socialists and Catholic leaders are not satisfied with the interdenominational school, since they desire to have the entire life of the school organized from the Catholic point of view with particular reference to such subjects as history, civics and German. The most recent proposal for the organization of the schools upon a denominational basis was defeated largely from opposition within the ranks of the elementary school teachers, who stand back of the interdenominational school set forth in the Constitution. The result of this prolonged struggle cannot yet be predicted, but all signs point toward the firm establishment of the interdenominational common school as the predominant type in elementary education.

Article 147 of the Constitution safeguards the right to establish private schools for special purposes. "Private schools as a substitute for public schools shall require the approval of the state and shall be subject to the laws of the states. Such approval shall be granted if the standard of the private schools in their curricula and equipment, as well as in the professional training of their teachers, does not fall below that of the public schools, and if no discrimination is made against pupils on account of the economic status of their parents. Such approval shall be denied if the economic and legal status of the teachers is not sufficiently safeguarded.

"Private elementary schools shall be established only in cases where a minority group, having a right to educational advantages, finds that there is in the locality no public elementary school of their religious belief or philosophy. Private elementary schools may also be permitted if the educational authorities recognize that they have a special educational value"; that is, as centers of experiment or progressive work not practicable as yet under public school conditions.

"Private preparatory schools are abolished." This clause is the death knell of the numerous private elementary classes, *Vorschulen*, which were formerly attached to many secondary schools. Their one aim was to prepare pupils for entrance to the secondary schools. They carried caste cleavages down to the beginning of school life,

and they had to be wiped out completely when the *Grundschule* came into being as the common school where children of all classes should live together for four years at least.

In the citation from Article 147 one may see that the Constitution distinguishes between private schools which serve as substitutes for public schools, and private schools which justify their existence by some special purpose not so well met in the public schools. The private school, which is a substitute for public institutions, requires the approval of the state and is subject in all respects to the laws and regulations affecting the public schools. The experimental private school is also supervised and controlled by the state to a certain extent, but it may be granted considerable freedom, since it has a purpose beyond that of fundamental forms of education as offered in the public schools. Germany requires some supervision of all educational institutions, be they public or private.

One of the most outstanding constitutional measures, which has brought about immediate changes of consequence, is the section which has to do with the training of teachers. "The training of teachers shall be uniformly regulated within the *Reich,* according to principles which apply generally to *higher education.*"

This apparently simple statement is of tremendous importance. It means that all teachers in Germany for all types of schools shall be trained at institutions of university rank and according to methods of instruction and study, which are usually found in universities. This applies with greatest significance to changes in the training of elementary school teachers. One stroke of the pen abolished the old normal school, in which the typical pre-war elementary teacher had been segregated and trained as a drill master. The normal school had to go, because the professional training offered there was conducted more according to the standards of the secondary school than of the university. It had served to emphasize the dividing line between teachers in the elementary schools and those in the secondary schools. Democracy regards their services as equal in value and demands that their professional rank and training be equalized also in order that caste lines among teachers may be erased, for without democratic feeling within the profession it will be difficult to build democratic ideals in the school.

The challenge which Germany has given the world in this sharp uplift of the requirements for elementary teachers is one of the most

significant results of the educational revolution. Besides aiming at democratization of the profession it means the extension of cultural opportunities to a large group of teachers and will ultimately secure higher standards of instruction in the schools. Up to the present time this provision in the Constitution has chiefly affected the elementary teachers, but a rapid reorganization of the training of other types of teachers is taking place. Marked advance has been made in the requirements for teachers of physical education, music and art. In the near future the trend of increased training will also affect teachers of home economics and kindergarten.

In the field of supervision there has been an important change with reference both to professional standards and the religious problem. Part-time and ecclesiastical supervision of the schools has been discontinued by law. Before the war the inspection of elementary schools was not always made by professionally trained men who devoted all their time to the work. In rural districts and small towns supervision was usually carried on by a clergyman who gave only part of his time to the work. This situation was greatly deplored by teachers with pride in their profession and the new Constitution has corrected the defect by providing that the supervision of schools shall be carried on by technically trained officials.

The Federal Constitution avoids any specific regulation of the details of school work, but it takes up some general questions of education and instruction. Article 148 prescribes that in all schools provision shall be made for the development of morality, civic consciousness, personal ability and vocational aptitude. This is to be done in ways that will strengthen the German national character and bring international understanding. Adult education is to be fostered. Manual work and civic training are to be required subjects of instruction. Every child is to receive a copy of the Federal Constitution at the end of the compulsory school period. The Federal authorities are particularly concerned with education for citizenship. The rest of the school program, both in form and in curriculum content, is left to the direction of each locality, since details depend upon the cultural and vocational needs of the pupils with respect to age, ability and regional situation.

The Constitution recognizes two distinct objectives in education for citizenship: the development of civic consciousness and the acquisition of civic information. The first is regarded as an objective

of education in the broad sense of the latter word, and the second as an objective of instruction in the sense of direct teaching. Civic or social consciousness is to be developed by all the vital experiences, which bring to the pupil a feeling that he is a member of the greater whole, which is more important than his own welfare and for whose fate he is responsible. The chief purpose of civic instruction is to acquaint the pupils with the organization of the state, so that they may employ their civic consciousness to practical ends later. All schools, lower and higher, are to do their share in these two fields of citizenship training.

The Constitution is noticeably reserved in defining the limitation of the rights of the school in the fields of education. Apparently much importance has been laid upon avoidance of a conflict between the home and the school. Without doubt educational reforms in Germany, as well as in other countries, have caused the schools, as public institutions, to take over more and more the functions previously performed by the home. A German Federal court decision of 1912 reads: "The public schools are not merely institutions for giving instruction, but they are educational institutions and the teachers are not merely to impart knowledge and information, but they are also to keep watch over the pupils' moral development." This decree indicates an expanding concept of the school's functions.

Nowhere in earlier state or Federal school regulations is to be found a clear definition of the rights of the school in matters of education. The word "education," *Erziehung*, in contrast to instruction, *Unterricht*, scarcely appeared in connection with German school law before the twentieth century although it is now in constant use. The Prussian General Code of 1794 defined schools and universities as "state institutions, which are intended to impart to youth instruction in the necessary knowledge and sciences." Since then, similar basic regulations have repeatedly emphasized the instructional function of the school and its responsibility in enforcing attendance and discipline.

On the other hand, the old Prussian General Code definitely stated the responsibility and privileges of parents in connection with the education of their children. The Civil Code, too, said plainly that "the care of the person of the child, including the right and duty of educating the child, of exercising supervision over it and of determining its place of abode, are functions of the parent."

Article 120 of the Federal Constitution of 1919 says equally clearly: "The education of offspring to spiritual, physical and social efficiency is the highest duty and natural right of parents, over whose activity the state keeps watch." The latter clause indicates definitely the determination of the state to see that every child receives his just due from his parents. The Federal Juvenile Welfare Law of 1920 reads: "Every German child has a right to education for physical, spiritual and social efficiency. Interference with the will of those privileged to control his education is permissible only under conditions prescribed by law." Whenever the child's claim to education is not fulfilled by the family, state organs may take part in the personal side of his development or education.

Legally and theoretically there is some overlapping of the two fields of responsibility. In actual practice there is little, since grounds for state interference in the recognized province of parental authority must be shown clearly in each individual case. However, there does exist the danger that the activity of the home in the field of education may become more limited. Such a change would be welcomed by some political groups. The tendency to regard children as wards of the state is very strong in Russia and is favored in theory by German communists. The laws of the republic do not permit the school to encroach on the privileges of the home, but they do offer to parents the opportunity of participating in the management of the schools to a greater extent than before. Every school is required to form a parents' council which coöperates with committees of teachers and pupils in the management of school affairs.

There remains no doubt that the German school reforms rest upon a legal basis, which insures the permanence of gains already made and promises further development. The broad lines mapped out in the Federal Constitution and followed by most state constitutions form a framework within which the educational program of the republic can grow in accordance with changing needs. There are many gaps, but, until national conditions are more stable, it seems safer to proceed with a minimum of legislation rather than risk the passage of either radical or reactionary school laws.

CHAPTER XV

The Average School To-day

"A place for cultivating the vital expression of juvenile forms of culture."
PAULSEN

A CURIOUS difficulty confronts the visitor in search of Germany's new schools. He enters a courtyard and finds two separate schools. They share the same playground and are housed in adjoining buildings. Both are supported by public funds and patronized by the same class of people. One is an average elementary school and one is a radical Community School. It is truly a fine example of tolerance to see them existing peacefully side by side—the old order and the new. But how is a stranger to distinguish between them?

Suppose he goes into the regular school by mistake. He may find an occasional bare classroom and some dogmatic teaching by a few stern schoolmasters. But it is more than probable that he will discover the same attempts at colorful decoration, the same spirit of freedom and activity and the same comradely relationship between pupils and teachers that he has been led to consider the distinguishing marks of the Community Schools.

To-day it may be truly said that the chief difference between the average elementary school and the Community School is in the history of their development. The Community Schools revolted and established a new type of school overnight. The average school has slowly evolved in the same direction, pursuing similar ideals with greater moderation. The Community Schools lived through a period of chaos, self-sacrifice and re-discovery of educational necessities. The average school profited by the experience of these pioneers and gradually modified its organization and curriculum to accord with the changing spirit of the times.

Three types of schools, examples chosen at random, plainly show how reform has penetrated all corners of the German school system. Consider first a city elementary school, which might be in Berlin

or Hamburg, Dresden or Leipzig, since it is so much like hundreds of other elementary schools making no pretensions to radical experimentation. Turn second to a girls' middle school in a small city, not because it is distinctive, but because it represents a stable type of intermediate education less affected by reform perhaps than either elementary or secondary schools. Look third at a rural or village school, so sequestered that it might easily have escaped the current of reform altogether. Yet each of these "average" schools has caught something of the progressive spirit which is giving new life to education throughout Germany. Moreover, in each of them one finds evidence of some substantial merits in the pre-war schools, which still offer a solid foundation for the rebuilding of education in the new democracy.

The first example of an average school is a city elementary school which happens to be in Berlin. In the first grade benches and desks have given place to tables and chairs arranged conveniently around the room. There are flowers, pictures and hangings, making the room a beautiful home for children. The general informality and friendly relationship between teachers and pupils create an atmosphere of ease very different from the rigid severity of the Prussian school twenty years ago. There appears to be a perceptible loss of efficiency in teaching fundamentals, but there is compensation now in the better spirit that prevails and there is constant gain in the teachers' mastery of new methods, so that it seems unlikely that standards will decline permanently.

The health program has expanded beyond gymnastic drills to include indoor games and outdoor sports in endless variety. Practically every pupil in this school learns to swim during his elementary school years. The older girls enjoy rhythms and dancing while the boys favor team games. Lunches are furnished to seriously under-nourished children and special forms of exercise are arranged for physical defectives. Clinics at the school provide prenatal and infant care, as well as medical examination and treatment for pupils. The school coöperates with a great army of institutions and organizations working for the spiritual and physical welfare of children.

One of the most attractive features of this school is the garden. Far out in one of the suburbs of Berlin are several acres used for gardens by a group of schools. The boys and girls of the upper classes go once a week for a whole day to work in the open air, to

tend the gardens which they have planted, and to receive instruction in natural science in the out-of-door school room. Such concentration of instruction in large blocks of time on a single day is characteristic of the changed program of the whole school. One forenoon each week is devoted to home economics by the girls, while the boys in the class give a full half day to manual training. The girls in the last class not only have cooking and sewing but they engage in other forms of practical housework and have introductory lessons on the care and feeding of children.

In many subjects laboratory procedure has taken the place of the lecture-recitation period. In addition to the school garden, manual training shop and domestic science rooms there is a well-equipped natural science laboratory. Aquaria and herbaria are found in various rooms about the building. Slides, moving pictures or projectoscopes are available for practically all classes.

Work in history and geography has changed as these two subjects have fused into *studies of the environment* and the method of instruction has become more active and vivid. On one visit to this school a class of boys was away the greater part of the day carrying out an assignment in history which had to do with the civic and social organization of Berlin. The new textbooks in the hands of the pupils are note books, which call for a definite reaction on the part of the pupils to the problems and projects suggested. Source books, magazines and papers are used freely by the children. The library is assuming a very important rôle in this school and the teacher has become a guide to the pupils in their investigations and organization of material.

The professional attitude of the staff shows how freedom and the improved status of the elementary school teacher has already affected his work. Six or seven teachers in this school have published the results of their experiments and several others are carrying on interesting investigations. This is possible because each teacher has considerable liberty in the management of his own work. Methods of instruction and procedure are entirely in the hands of the classroom teacher. The course of study in Berlin is sketched in such rough outlines that a very wide range is allowed for individual initiative.

An average Middle School for girls in Lübeck shows that this type of school, too, has been affected by progressive educational tendencies. It is a school with five hundred pupils, ten to sixteen

years of age, in six classes. Ten per cent of the entering class for the year are young, because they were adjudged somewhat superior children and spent only three years in the *Grundschule*.

The same principal has been in charge of this school with only slight interruptions ever since its foundation in 1890. Consequently he knows most of his pupils and their mothers personally. The faculty, too, has been fairly stable and so unified that they feel they have long had a Community School in the truest sense. Class groups entertain their parents frequently and the parents have always been accustomed to visit the principal for consultation about their daughters' school work or future vocations.

There is a happy atmosphere of freedom and order throughout the school. The girls have access to the office, where they handle keys, maps, books, and supplies with care and assurance. They have been asked not to stand when a teacher or visitor appears in the schoolroom but it is difficult to break an old custom. A pupil from each class chooses fresh room decorations weekly from a central collection of good pictures. In the vestibules are posted notices of lectures, games and festivals. Some groups come back to school in the afternoons for folk dancing in the courtyard. Milk is furnished to the many undernourished children listed by the school physician. A systematic savings plan provides for excursions into the nearby country for every class and a ten day trip into the Harz Mountains for the graduating class. The singing master, who is also class teacher of the graduating group, is very fond of boating in spite of his sixty years, and he takes his pupils by threes and fours for a holiday on the river every year.

To-day a group of fourteen-year-old girls is singing two-part songs with great enjoyment and beauty of tone. There is little interruption for comments on technique and no use of the piano. Outside in the courtyard a younger class is having an art lesson painting a group of familiar gables with irregular tiled roofs and clustering vines. Often the pupils take their folding stools and sketch pads and wander through the town in search of an interesting view of a church tower, a doorway or a bit of the river. Sewing is the principal handicraft taught. There are six machines for this section of fourteen girls. They are making muslin underwear and there is much variety in the trimming with embroidery, hemstitching or lace. With their covered baskets before them the girls work two

at a table, helping one another and seemingly independent of the teacher except when they go to the machines.

English is the only foreign language taught in this school, which lies in the north where low German is commonly spoken, a language somewhat akin to the speech of the Netherlands and to English. The upper class is studying an abbreviated edition of Hawthorne's "Tanglewood Tales." They read aloud well and correct one another on grammatical points in the translation. The teacher helps them to define difficult words and phrases, speaking sometimes in English and sometimes in German to be sure that all understand his explanations. The pupils take turns asking and answering questions about the story in English. Their pronunciation is mediocre, but the instructor has succeeded in getting better phrasing than usual by urging them not to speak as distinctly as in German but to slur their words as Americans do.

A first class of ten-year-old girls is studying German poetry. The teacher reads aloud with marked expression and the class shows keen enjoyment. They discuss the way she brings out certain points or moods by rhythm, tone and inflection. Individuals eagerly volunteer to re-read certain parts. Finally the whole class reads the poem in unison as a *Sprechchor*. Another group is studying German under a teacher who has coöperated in the publication of some new readers which contain legends, poems and folk-tales selected by several teachers in this locality. In order to comply with the visitor's request to see these books in use the teacher shifts his program with alacrity, remarking: "We were not allowed to do this in the old days." The class is reading aloud tales from the Edda. To-day it is the story of Thor's journey as a bride to the palace of the ice giants. The story is beautifully read and causes much laughter and excited discussion. The teacher participates in the most informal and wholehearted fashion. He usually reads the interpolated verses in order to draw attention to the old Nordic verse form. The girls draw books from the class library for home reading but they make no use of the city library and reading rooms.

The graduating class of sixteen-year-old girls is studying elementary physics with little laboratory equipment but many practical applications. Temperature is discussed with reference to the expansion of metal in railroad tracks and mercury in the thermometer. Several girls make calculations on temperature, changing from

centigrade to Fahrenheit or Reaumur and *vice versa*. One pupil draws a diagram of a steam engine on the blackboard to illustrate a practical application of heating and expansion. The weather map is introduced to show the relation of this principle to high and low pressure areas. Atmospheric conditions at the equator and the nature of trade winds are recalled. A barometer of the simple type is explained by one girl. Then a ship's barometer is brought out to interpret weather conditions of the day. The symbols used on weather charts for indicating degrees of wind and cloudiness are sketched on the board by the teacher as he gives the sailors' phrases for describing them. The textbook is rarely used. The instructor states that it is very unsatisfactory for their purpose and he finds it much better to treat physical principles in relation to everyday observation and experience instead of following the details and logical sequence of the text.

The geography taught in this class has taken an economic bent for the time being. The ability of Germany to take care of her own food needs is the topic of discussion graphically presented by the pupils' notebook charts showing the ratio of population to consumption of important food stuffs; a blackboard drawing of a loaf of bread with a section shaded to indicate the percentage of grain that must be imported; a graph comparing the days in the year when the German people can be fed on home products and the days when they must eat foreign grown foods; another graph showing what percentage of the population is actually dependent on imported foodstuffs as necessities and not luxuries. Germany's problem is compared with that of England, which needs larger imports but is able to secure them from her own colonies. Up to this point the pupils have led the discussion with clear comments and sharp questions.

Now the teacher lectures briefly on live stock industries and meat consumption in England and Germany. He gives data on the division of each country into cultivated ground, meadow, woodland and waste areas; the production of live stock; the varied food habits and meat consumption of different nations; and the chief meat exporting countries of the world. The presentation is forceful because of pointed references to current economic and political problems, to Lübeck's interests as a port and to Germany's growing industrial development. The pupils take brief notes in books, which record

in vivid graphs and brief summaries the salient facts from each lecture.

Graphic methods predominate in the history work also, for the same instructor expands German history of the nineteenth century to the scope of world history by pointing out on a time line relevant connections with events in America and the Orient, as well as in the chief European countries. The time line is used effectively to show the relationship between common critical points in the lives of individuals like Bismarck, Moltke and the *Old Kaiser*, and the results of such convergence on the fate of the German nation.

The Middle School is true to its traditions in keeping school room practice close to the needs of the middle class pupil, who must face real problems in business, industry and family life, but who can be prepared to meet them as intelligent and well informed citizens whose education may be abbreviated and yet lack none of the fundamental types of knowledge and training.

A visit to a German rural school gives proof that the reform of education has penetrated to the remotest corners of the land, making the *activity method* and *education through experience* common-place phrases to the village schoolmaster and realities in his daily practice. Rural schools in Germany are rarely so isolated as many in America because the farms there are seldom large or scattered. Village life unites the peasants whose houses cluster in a small area surrounded by their fields. The village school with its two or three teachers brings together many children in one district. Almost without exception the teachers in the rural schools are men who have taken up permanent residence in the community, who share the daily life and labor of the peasantry, and who hold a highly respected and influential position in local affairs.

The third example of an average school is a two-teacher school of fifty-five pupils in northwestern Germany. A modern brick school building combined with the teacher's dwelling is set well back from the street in a garden with flowers, vegetables and fruit trees. The school itself is hard to distinguish from a large village house and it seems to be an integral part of the agricultural community that surrounds it. The wing given over to the teacher's house is spacious and attractive. The lower floor contains a study, living room, dining room and kitchen, while in the gabled second story are the bedrooms. The personal library of this country schoolmaster shows the wide

range of his interests. A violin and worn classics on the piano indicate a cultivated taste for music. This teacher speaks with enthusiasm of the club in a neighboring town, where he joins his colleagues who are occupied for the time being with a study of Schopenhauer's philosophy. With equal eagerness he explains some original contrivances he has installed in a large bee-house at the back of the garden, and reports on the season's yield of fruits and vegetables. Involuntarily comes the thought: "But this man does not need to *teach*. It is enough if the village children only come and share his daily life!"

However, he does teach vigorously and his school is as flourishing as his own household. The schoolrooms are artistically decorated and furnished with pictures, construction materials, maps, charts and laboratory apparatus which have been accumulated for years to supply all the needs that have arisen in elementary instruction. The school library not only provides books for the pupils but it serves as a circulating library for the village. To supplement the worn collection a traveling library has lately been sent by the new extension department of a neighboring city library.

The pupils are divided into two classes. Twenty children in the first three grades are in charge of a young teacher during a three-hour morning session. Thirty-five older boys and girls arrive at seven thirty in the morning during the summer and leave at twelve thirty, so that they have full five hours of instruction. For much of their work this class is divided into three sections, each in charge of a capable pupil whenever the master is occupied with the other groups. Often these assistants take their groups out of doors or into the wide entrance hall where they work well, leaving the classroom to the pupils in charge of the teacher.

Instruction is characterized by active methods. There is much concrete work in arithmetic. The pupils make graphs based on statistics taken from the national yearbook and on weather observations recorded at school over a period of months. These also furnish practical material for problems. A good text is in use for drill, estimates and additional examples.

In geography, reports on the Black Forest are made by small committees who have chosen their own subjects and gone to various sources for reference material. Maps and diagrams are rapidly sketched on the blackboard by the pupils to show the relation of

mountain groups in Central Europe and some particulars about their geological history. Presentation of the subject by the pupils and general discussion have taken the place of old-time recitations led by the teacher and bound to the book.

For music the pupils regroup themselves in order to sing two parts. A boy takes out his violin carefully and accompanies some of the songs. This group is very fond of poetry and calls for two or three poems to be recited. One of these was so well liked that they have set it to music, composing a simple melody which the teacher has written in proper notation on the blackboard. All sing this with marked pleasure and ask that it be sung again as a solo by one girl who has gained distinction among them because of the quality of her voice.

So the day passes in activities that seem meaningful to the pupils themselves. They appear less dependent on their teacher than is the case in most town schools and they are given both freedom and responsibility. The schedule is arranged in double periods allowing for long intervals of work and pupils are permitted to change from one thing to another without waiting for clock or bell.

The young primary teacher does not live in the village but he comes out from town by bicycle daily. He does not yet have a permanent position for he has passed only the first examination. One part of that ordeal was to demonstrate his practical skill as a teacher here in his own schoolroom with his regular class before thirty observers—all older teachers and officials. For the exhibition lesson he took as a point of departure the children's interest in new houses under construction in the village. Previously he had gone with his class to watch the excavation and building. They had also visited the local factory which was making roof tiles for these houses. Then the children had experimented with the clay by molding tiles and baking them in the schoolroom stove. Discussion of these experiences formed the basis of his demonstration lesson. This young man had found that membership in a club of teachers making trips afoot or by bicycle into the surrounding country had helped him greatly in teaching *Heimatkunde*, studies of the environment.

To-day the older primary children are busy with recollections of an excursion made the preceding day to visit the canal locks five miles distant. They have marked out their course in red on a large map of the district and they never tire of re-tracing the route or

recalling what they saw in the village and along the stream. Each child is eager to describe the way the locks work when a boat passes through. As questions arise the teacher sketches in colored chalk the operation of the locks, first for a boat going upstream and then for one going downstream, and the children's explanations become clearer. They mention the huge cost of construction and the necessity of canals for transportation. These children turn to their notebooks or the blackboard to try drawing the locks, while the teacher gives his attention to the beginners.

They have been modeling Red Riding Hood and the wolf or drawing pictures on their slates. The young man takes time to listen to each child who wants to tell some one about his drawing or figures, and many of the reports are in good story form. As noon approaches the little children pack up to go home, but many of them hang about enviously watching the older boys and girls who are allowed to stay in the school an hour longer.

Here in an ordinary village school one sees the same activities and feels the same spirit that mark the Community Schools. The country has its proletariat as well as the city. Many of the children come from families where six or eight persons sleep in one room. Both the father and mother are at work all day long in their rented plots or on the big estate adjoining. One meets them as they leave their flat, uninteresting village and go into town along an avenue of magnificent trees, where dozens of small farmers like themselves are hauling carts of produce to the market place. Each has yoked a dog to a little wagon and men and women alike throw their strength into the collar along with the dumb beasts that serve them. This is the future that awaits the peasant child. His school cannot alter his fate but it does attempt to make the passing years of childhood happier. The village schoolmaster worries little about preparing his pupils for examinations, because the fixed pattern of life in a crowded country makes it improbable that many peasant children can aspire to higher education than the *Volksschule* gives. Nor does the village school become a community center often, because that social purpose is already served by established inns, local organizations and traditional festivals that bring the villagers together for diversion frequently.

The average school in Germany has changed radically in its attitude toward the parents. To-day the parents' association is a legalized

and integral part of every school, because the principle of democratic control reaches out to bring parents into active coöperation with teachers and pupils.

Before the war the German school was a hard place for an outsider to enter, parents not excepted. Of course, fathers and mothers could come at stated hours to confer with the principal, but they always entered the courtyard with hesitation, both from recollections of their own school days and from awe of the teachers as officials. The school had the authority of the state behind it and no irate parent could interrupt or berate a teacher. Parents were responsible only for producing the children and seeing that they attended school regularly. They were not expected to assist the teachers in running the school and there were only a few isolated parent-teacher associations. The lack signified a wide gulf between school and home, so far as real understanding was concerned. The law compelled a degree of coöperation and the law was rigidly enforced. The school as an institution was as impersonal as the postoffice in a large city, which renders good service, but does not consult its customers' wishes nor take time to be friendly with them.

To-day parents are welcome and at ease in the schools. Teachers have a new attitude toward the parents and parents have a fresh interest in education. They visit classes, take part in discussions, accompany classes on excursions and contribute both labor and money for special purposes. Petersen goes so far as to advocate doing away with the state school altogether and having the elementary schools supported and controlled by their patrons.

Every German school now has its parents' council. A group of parents, chosen to represent all the fathers and mothers of the district, forms an association which acts in an advisory capacity to the teaching staff. Its purpose is to unify the home and the school in order to further the welfare of the pupils. The principal and teachers usually take part in the meetings of the council, which is often organized on a representative basis with one member for each fifty children in the school. While this small council is the legal organization for the parents, there are many meetings of the whole membership to hear lectures and take part in discussions.

An unusual example of the contributions parents have made to a school is found in Magdeburg, where the association leased a fort and turned it into an outdoor school and community center. During

their leisure hours or days of unemployment these fathers and mothers labored to construct the buildings, open air theater, gardens, poultry yard, store, restaurant, classrooms, sport fields and pavilions, where they now take the entire family for recreation. Many of the parents are enrolled in evening courses or activity groups at the school. For several years they have issued a school paper which serves as a medium of information and discussion to the entire community. Interest in school affairs is so strong that many of these parents lose contact with political organizations, much to the distress of party leaders. Work for the good of their children has superseded all other claims.

A linking of home and school, which is common in America, is now found in Germany, as parents and teachers coöperate to improve the health of children. Many elementary schools have undertaken to feed pupils whose parents are poor or unemployed. The cost to the school is reduced somewhat when mothers give their services in preparing and serving the food. Such contacts tend to extend the parents' interest to other phases of school life. The health and maternity clinics frequently found in public schools have also brought the mother into the school and taken the school into the home.

The new unity of school and home is revealed during a monthly "Parents' Evening." This is not a mothers' meeting, for an equal number of men and women make up the gathering of one hundred and thirty parents. School issues are also political issues in Germany at present and that may account for the regular attendance of the men. A democratic atmosphere pervades the assembly. Teachers, parents and janitor are on the same level, all feeling equal responsibility for the success of the meeting. The men are skilled workmen, shopkeepers, clerks and petty officials, whose ages range from thirty-five to sixty-five. Some of the women are employed and all of them care for their own households.

The principal of the school introduces one of the teachers, who talks on vocational guidance with reference to the pupils leaving school at Easter, the close of the regular year. The speaker reviews the history of industrial development from the days of the guilds, when a craftsman chose his vocation with some regard for his own inclinations and learned a complete process, down to the present time when the mass production of a capitalistic age offers only the

chance to earn a living by becoming a cog in the machine. He indicates the value of coöperation with other men, but obviously he distrusts the chance for youth to develop under such a system. His hope for reaction against "Taylorism" is supported by rumors that greater consideration for human beings is entering into business "even in America."

This teacher is skeptical about the value of vocational tests, because of the brevity of the examination and the difficulty of measuring the youth's emotional response, which is not aroused until he actually feels himself drawn into the responsibilities of a position and the obligations of work with other persons. The speaker recommends heartily that parents go into the matter of choice with their sons and daughters, holding out no rosy hopes with the labor market flooded as it is, but taking into account the minimum of strain in personal adjustment and a margin of leisure for self-development and sound pleasures. He mentions the advantage of continuance in a vocational school, where prolonged work under the observation of experts is a better guide to final choice than a short test. He recommends apprenticeship and small trade openings as offering some chances for the use of initiative.

A warm discussion begins immediately, showing that the auditors have not been passive listeners to a mere lecture but that they have accepted the problem as their own. A communist asserts that the one thing needful is overthrow of the present system. Other parents doubt the practical value of additional study in a continuation school. The principal and the lecturer silence the radical by calling attention to the limitation of the subject within the bounds of their present educational problem, and to the second group they point out the restricted facilities for vocational training in their own school, the real opportunities in the higher school and the need of special training in an age of sharp competition. This argument is reënforced by a few fathers who report their personal difficulties in getting jobs.

The head of the school announces that specifications for four workshops are in the hands of the authorities to be added to the school after the gymnasium is enlarged. There are murmurs in the audience and outspoken doubts as to the fulfillment of these hopes. Some one suggests that a committee of parents bring the matter to the attention of the officials repeatedly, if necessary. The need is imperative, because this institution, as a Community School per-

mitting voluntary enrollments, is becoming congested with classes numbering as high as fifty pupils to a teacher.

Spontaneity and an absence of parliamentary phrases have characterized the meeting and it becomes even more informal as two young fathers present plans for an approaching festival. With heartiness and humor they ask for parade marshals, musicians, singers and dancers. The response is good, because many of the parents belong to fortnightly groups which meet at the school for folk dancing, chorus singing and orchestra practice. They are sharing with their children some of the benefits of the new education. German parents have a right to exult in their share of control over school policies. This one change is symbolic of the whole reform, because it means that the schools now belong to the people and not to the government.

CHAPTER XVI

Secondary School Progress

"One step on the ground of present reality toward a goal that seems attainable within a measurable time."—SCHWARZ

FROM external evidence it would appear that the secondary schools in Germany have been swept along in the same reform movement, which has produced many striking new features in elementary education. Classes of older boys and girls are found traveling and tramping through the country. Secondary schools have their Country Homes and pupils frequently spend weeks of vacation or school time in a rural environment. They crowd the sports fields and go regularly to the swimming pools. Considerable attention is given to arts and crafts. Study clubs are numerous and the social organization of the schools introduces many elements of self-government. Re-decorated classrooms sometimes show the gay color schemes favored by the Community Schools. Even a sixteenth-century cloister school, a classical *Gymnasium*, looks modern in a coat of bright paint, however incongruous the new note may be in its vaulted corridors.

But actually secondary schools in Germany have been less inclined to adopt revolutionary theories and to try radical experiments in method and social organization than were the elementary schools. While some of the latter were throwing away time schedules and fixed courses of study in the lower grades and inaugurating socialized and integrated instruction in the upper classes, the higher schools showed their allegiance to conservative standards by holding fast to official curricula and modifying teaching methods but slowly.

Yet secondary education is the strategic point of the whole German school reform. Hitherto only the elementary schools have been open to every child in the nation and the higher schools have belonged to the upper classes of society. Extension of educational opportunity to all the children of all the people was one plank in the platform of the social revolutionists, who brought about the estab-

lishment of the German Republic. It was a reform of more consequence than mere pedagogical manipulation of curricula and methods. It involved such instructional changes as natural consequences of a program declaring the right of every person to the amount and kind of education, which would give most satisfaction to him personally and best fit him to function as a citizen in the new democracy.

Before the revolution the German schools were differentiated according to social and economic classifications and, to a certain extent, according to ability, in that those who had forged to the lead economically and socially often had more than average ability. Yet it was undoubtedly true that the nation had suffered tremendously by shortening the education of thousands of capable boys and girls who never achieved all their abilities promised because of the low status of the families in which they chanced to be born. Following the revolution it was felt, for reasons of social justice and educational policy, that free and full opportunity should be given *all* the capable. This, in a measure, has been accomplished by making secondary school entrance conditional on ability and by supplying more scholarships for needy pupils.

In estimating the importance of these extended opportunities for secondary education in Germany, it is well to note again the span of school life included under secondary education in European countries. Germany has a longer secondary school period than most other nations, for her higher schools have been accustomed to receive pupils at nine years of age, give them a nine-year course, and graduate them at eighteen or nineteen years of age, with scholastic attainments equivalent to those of a student completing his second year in an American college. The secondary school course in other European countries is either six or eight years in length.

Until after the revolution of 1918 and the passing of the *Grundschule* law, many secondary schools maintained *Vorschulen*, or three- to four-year preparatory departments, so that the secondary schools formerly controlled the full twelve or thirteen years of a child's school life. The *Grundschule* law now withheld from secondary institutions the first four years by requiring all German children to pass through four classes of the common elementary school and by preventing them from entering the secondary school until they are ten years of age. The new regulations raised such a storm of protest

from those classes of people who had been sending their children to secondary schools for generations, that the law was finally modified, so that capable pupils may now be allowed to enter the secondary schools again at the age of nine after only three years in the *Grundschule*. This is possible but not common practice. Preparatory classes attached to secondary schools and the direct control of the higher school over the primary school were permanently abolished. The nine-year secondary school courses are, however, preserved intact.

The secondary schools of Germany are tuition schools. No European government feels able to support a costly secondary school system entirely on public funds. Therefore, instead of taxing all the people for the entire cost of the secondary schools, which are used by only a fraction of the population, they require a tuition fee, which is regarded as a form of tax to be paid only by those directly benefited. While tuition in Germany is low by our standard—$50 for one year—yet fees are a very great hindrance to the free flow of able children into the secondary schools. Some families hesitate to accept free tuition. Although they might secure full or partial scholarships for their children many parents are not able to maintain them on the same living standard as the majority of pupils in the higher schools, so they prefer to send their boys and girls to the Middle Schools or let them remain in the upper classes of the elementary schools. This reluctance to take advantage of the new provisions extending secondary education to all the ablest pupils may decline as lower class families become accustomed to the rights bestowed on them by democracy. The passing generation of working people cannot yet free themselves from ideas of class privilege and they shrink from pushing their children into competition with pupils of more favored circumstances.

Yet the number of pupils in secondary schools in Germany is increasing very rapidly. This gain is due in part to the removal of social distinctions and to the increased number of girls in attendance, but is chiefly the result of a much richer provision of scholarships and other types of aid. It may be said without much danger of contradiction that any child of good ability in Germany may now secure the advantages of a secondary education. Even to-day, however, a surprisingly small proportion of school children are in the secondary schools. Approximately eight per cent of the adolescents between the ages of fourteen and nineteen are in German secondary

schools as compared with fifty-eight per cent in the United States.

Money alone does not now qualify a German child for entrance into the secondary school. No matter how rich the parents may be a child can enter the secondary school only after he has passed an examination to prove his ability to do the type of work demanded. Qualification for secondary education depends upon ability, not merely upon birth. This new type of selection is one of the outstanding changes in German education. This, together with the constitutional provision that no child shall be barred from a school on account of the social, economic, political or religious position of his parents, guarantees "democracy in education" such as was hitherto unknown in Germany. However, it differs radically from the American conception of that phrase.

While in the United States we have embarked upon a program of secondary education for all of our children, regardless of ability, the German program is summarized in their educational slogan, "an open road for the capable." We have certain groups of educators in America who preach the same doctrine for our high schools and colleges. The point of the discussion always turns about the problem of determining who is capable and how ability shall be measured. At the present time in Germany, capability means the ability to do the kind of work that has hitherto been done and required in the secondary school as an institution preparing students for entrance to the university. It has meant the reservation of higher educational opportunities for those who belong to the intellectual type, capable of abstract thinking. It is very probable that as political and economic power become more widely distributed, the rise of the lower classes of society will create a demand for a more flexible organization of the secondary school system and a more practical bent to certain courses. There is already evidence of this movement in the creation of new opportunities for transfer and in a wider provision of aids and scholarships. The secondary schools of all types are rapidly losing their exclusive social character and this change may eventually result in further modifications of the curriculum through the introduction of pre-vocational courses.

The higher schools of Germany have long been the pride of the nation, for they have been so well organized and staffed and they maintained such high academic standards that the universities were able to build directly upon their attainments a type of scholarship

distinguished for its thoroughness and erudition, yet often criticized for the intellectual burden it placed on youth.

The influence of higher institutions on secondary schools frequently amounted to dictation of courses and their content, yet the standards of university entrance were not directly applicable to the entire enrollment of the secondary schools, for there was a definite leaving point at the close of the sixth year, when many pupils who did not plan to attend the university ended their school careers at the age of fifteen or sixteen, having enjoyed some of the superior social and academic advantages of secondary education. For these youths, who planned to enter practical life at a comparatively early age, the traditional *Gymnasium* course of study with Latin in every class, Greek in the upper division, and the content of all courses leading up to university entrance, meant a great waste of time. This has long been recognized and repeated efforts to reform secondary school curricula have been made.

Every new course of study required the establishment of a new type of school, for it has not been the custom in Germany to introduce parallel classical and scientific courses in a single institution and allow pupils to elect subjects in either course. In one town there will be separate buildings and faculties for each of the separate school types. This not only makes the secondary school system expensive and inefficient from the administrative standpoint, but it tends to enhance social cleavage, for the pupils are scattered in the various schools according to the probability of future study in the university or pursuit of a particular vocation. So refined did the distinctions between various types of secondary schools become that it is said thirty-seven different varieties of secondary schools actually existed in Germany before the war. The present school reform may eventually bring about some consolidation for reasons of economy and because there is a growing tendency to offer various courses within a single institution. Rivalry between teaching groups has been partly responsible for the number of divisions. No group was willing to abandon its position and risk unemployment by discontinuing the type of school with which its members were identified.

The more important school types for boys are, however, few and their characteristics distinct. The original secondary school was the classical *Gymnasium,* established during the middle ages to prepare boys for the learned professions. Up to the present Greek and Latin

remain important in the curriculum of these schools, although most modern subjects have found a place on their program of studies.

The first school type to branch off from the *Gymnasium* was the *Realgymnasium,* so called because it discontinued Greek and substituted a modern language, at the same time giving more attention to mathematics and science than had been customary in the older, ultra-classical school.

Second, there appeared the *Realschule,* offering only a six year course with emphasis on science, mathematics and modern languages. This met the needs of pupils entering vocations early, but it did not satisfy the desire for social distinction nor the requirements of university entrance, so an upper division was superimposed upon the first six classes in some schools and the whole became a third type, known as the *Oberrealschule.* It retained the modern bias and offered enough Latin to satisfy pupils interested in meeting that requirement for certain university courses.

A type of expanded elementary school which gained some strength before the war, is the Middle School, found chiefly in Prussia. It was created to break away from traditional classicism and to provide better opportunities for pupils who wished to go beyond the eight-year *Volksschule,* but who had neither the money nor social position to lead them to seek entrance to a secondary school. The Middle School in Germany is a hybrid, for its standards are not as high as those of the first six classes of the secondary school although it carries on similar work; nor is it really an elementary school, since it receives pupils at ten years of age and graduates them at sixteen. It generally offers at least two modern languages. It gives excellent courses in mathematics, science and the social studies. The equipment is seldom so good as that found in secondary schools and the teachers are less highly trained than those in the upper classes of secondary schools. Fees in the Middle School are low—about $10 a year. So far as recognition and administration are concerned this type remains an elementary school. Freed from the pressure of university requirements, the German Middle School has, in many cases, been able to develop some excellent modern courses and methods of work.

A fourth type of secondary school, which appeared in isolated instances before the war and is becoming fairly popular, is the *Aufbauschule.* It represents first of all, an attempt to democratize

secondary education, to make the advantages of the higher school and its university preparation available to larger groups and to dwellers in rural and village communities. The school itself does not represent an educational theory as do the *Gymnasium*, *Realgymnasium*, *Oberrealschule*, and *Deutsche Oberschule*. It is an administrative and social device whereby pupils remaining in the elementary school for seven or eight years may yet secure the advantages of a secondary school course. This enables the children of poor families to minimize school expense and those residing in rural districts to obtain a higher education in towns near their homes. The organization of the *Aufbauschule* is much like that of the American consolidated high school. The curriculum may follow that of any secondary school type, depending upon the wishes of the community.

A fifth school, an ultra-modern secondary school type, called the *Deutsche Oberschule*, appeared during the war and has enjoyed some popularity among radical educators since. It is chiefly distinguished by its emphasis on the social sciences and native language and culture. This type of school still has its way to win in securing final recognition from some of the state universities, but most of them accept its graduates outright or on probation.

From the elementary schools has come a development toward secondary school work that might eventually create a unified school type with classes from the kindergarten to the university. A few *Volksschulen* have added an *Oberbau*, or upper division for pupils of fifteen or sixteen years of age, so that they may continue longer in the same school. The curriculum is expanded to include science, a modern language and social studies that bring the standard of these elementary classes up to that of the Middle School. Naturally this expansion is not looked upon with much favor by the latter or by the secondary schools, for both are jealous of their standards and prerogatives. Secondary schools, in particular, are not enthusiastic about the democratization of the masses and universal higher education.

Since the school reform movement has aroused some sentiment favorable to a unification of the school system, these various school types are not as distinct as before. There are few cases of actual merging and no marked decline of any single type, but the possibilities of transfer from one school to another are greatly expanded. The outline of the secondary school system is practically unchanged,

but mobility within that frame is increased. Now an elementary school pupil may enter the *Aufbauschule* as late as the seventh school year and secure a secondary education leading to the university. Even the pupil from the *Oberbau* of an elementary school or the upper class of a Middle School may secure admission to the secondary school. Hitherto that was impossible, for secondary schools preferred to prepare their pupils from the age of six years or to have uninterrupted control of their school work from the age of nine years. In the past the secondary schools themselves did not permit much change from one higher school type to another. Now the barriers are let down at certain points, so that an able pupil desiring to change his course at the close of the third secondary school year, is able to enter the upper division of another type with little difficulty. Flexibility is generally recognized as necessary in adapting the school system to the needs of individuals.

In spite of their submission to university requirements and state regulations, the secondary schools of Germany were always distinctive as separate institutions and they have become even more individualized since the war. The new opportunities for experiment have been promptly seized by principals and teachers, who are universally mature men of high scholarship and considerable breadth of interest and experience. Doubtless a person could go from one German city to another to-day and find here a *Gymnasium*, there a *Realschule* and again an *Aufbauschule*, each of which had carried on some worth-while experiment in curriculum, method or social organization during recent years. From these separate experiments arise the changes that are gradually being incorporated into secondary schools as general practice, official suggestions and school law. Many reforms are still on paper, but these, too, are important, because they show the trend that will undoubtedly be followed in the next few years.

The girls' secondary schools of academic type have followed in the main the same principles which govern the organization of boys' schools. Accordingly their primary aim has been preparation for university work and they have almost totally neglected the other educational needs of girls and women. A little needle work is the limit of concession made by the typical secondary school for girls. Cooking and home-making find no place in the *Lyzeum*, *Oberlyzeum* or *Studienanstalt*. It is true that the courses of instruction

within the various school types pretend to take into consideration the needs and interests of women and to pay heed to feminine psychology by assigning more work in art, music and languages and less in mathematics and science.

A course in religion states: "Instruction must take into consideration the difference between the sexes. It must consider that in the Christian church from the beginning, women's piety, whose characteristic is an all-enduring love, was equal to that of men, whose fundamental feature is an all-daring faith; and it must make allowance for this inner difference between the two complementary human types in the choice and treatment of subject matter. It will always bring to the front both points of view. However, in boys' schools it will represent Christianity primarily as a militant and causative force, deeply affecting the history of the world, while in girls' schools it will be taught more as a soothing, balancing force, which heals wounds and solves life's problems. Outstanding women as Christian characters and significant organizations for women's charitable activities must be carefully studied in girls' schools."

Another section of the course reveals the same point of view:

"In selecting the subject matter for civics in girls' schools, attention should be given to the nature of girls, to the method of thought characteristic of them and to the special problems of the home."

One could pile up a great number of minor points of differentiation to show that, although the form of the girls' school is much the same as that of the boys' the content is very different. In reality, the boys' and girls' courses are both made for youths with the theoretical, abstract type of mind and other types are seriously neglected. Practically all of the problems unique to the work of women, as distinct from that of man, are ignored in the great secondary schools, unless the girl decides to pursue practical courses in institutions affiliated with the secondary school, but which are socially and educationally inferior.

In 1908 the *Frauenschule* and teacher training courses were established as recognized forms of secondary education for girls, but even then the school and courses were not granted full standing along with the academic sections of the *Studienanstalt*. The *Oberlyzeum* had previously introduced practical, pedagogical and vocational courses for girls, but it had to be deprived of all but its academic

work before it ranked equal to the *Studienanstalt*, which control entrance of girls to the university.

In 1917 the *Frauenschule* was reorganized and given better standing, chiefly because of the weight of new duties which fell upon women's shoulders as a result of the war. It was clearly sensed that real higher education for women must deal with other matters than those found in the academic secondary school. It would be necessary to include home economics, nutrition, hygiene, infant care, child training, civic education and sociology before the more important problems of woman and her work could be adequately treated.

The growth of the *Frauenschule* has been very rapid and the type has become popular, although it still suffers under the penalty of being unaccredited by the universities. More than 150 of these schools have been established in Prussia alone. They are always attached to a regular secondary school to keep down overhead expenses. Pupils entering must have completed a Middle School or *Lyzeum* and they may register for courses of one, two or three years' duration.

Affiliated with the *Frauenschule* are often found technical courses for teachers of sewing, cooking and housework, for kindergarten and nursery schools and for physical training. These courses are each one year in length and students ordinarily enter them after one year of preliminary work in the *Frauenschule*. It is the custom for a student to take three of these courses, since her chances for appointment are better if she has diverse qualifications. The training of women elementary teachers, which used to take place in connection with the secondary schools for girls, has been abandoned, since these teachers must now be trained at institutions of university rank. It is probable that the training of the special teachers mentioned above will soon go to teachers' colleges and leave the *Frauenschule* free to concentrate on its special aim of educating future wives, mothers and welfare workers.

In making their claim for recognition by the universities the *Frauenschulen* challenge the traditional assumption that educative values can be derived from the academic subjects alone. This new type of school is ready to meet secondary school standards with respect to faculty, objectives, methods, equipment and organization. However, its fundamental purpose is to meet the needs of the group it serves.

Secondary schools in Germany, as elsewhere, have favored the abstract thinker, and boys and girls have been measured by that standard whether they belonged to the type or not. Now a modern school of German psychology has begun to classify human beings as personality types and, if the classification is sound, it may influence curriculum making fundamentally, not only in girls' schools but in all fields of education. The psychologists mention six types: the theoretical, esthetic, economic, social, religious and the political. Any one person would not be exclusively one or the other, but they believe that particular type characteristics tend to predominate in most individuals.

Some such classification of human beings was behind the founding of the *Frauenschule* at Hildesheim, where the course emphasizes educational values in the fine and industrial arts, home economics, hygiene, civics, economics and law. This school is organized on a three-year basis, following completion of the *Lyzeum*. It does not yet aspire to the maturity examination privilege, as do some other schools of the type. The same struggle that the American high school has had for university recognition of the practical subjects will no doubt be rehearsed in Germany with the same result. Either the university must give way or other higher institutions will be established to receive the graduates from practical courses.

While the Hildesheim school is only in its beginning, its aims are extremely interesting and deserving of attention as a new departure in secondary education for German girls.

"Its characteristic feature consists in the fact that the relations of man to man; the nature, forms and effects of community life; the relation of the individual to the community and of communities among themselves, are determinative in the work of the school. Practical work with people and for people in their environment accompanies study and renders effective the assimilation of cultural and educational values."

"The *Frauenschule* seeks primarily to aid the development of girls who are socially and practically inclined and whose spiritual and mental structure seems best served by a treatment of educational materials from the point of view of human relationships. It seeks to afford a training of the maternal instinct or qualities, which will enable its possessors to coöperate heartily and actively in the spiritualization of community life in all of its manifold forms. Thus a

basis is created, upon which the training for women's vocations in the fields of teaching, social welfare, nursing and home-making may be based."

The Hildesheim Plan is being carried out with the special approval of the Minister of Education. The school adheres closely to the Prussian suggestions for secondary schools, so that the content of the core subjects does not depart greatly from usual practice, although the treatment may be different. It is called *Frauenoberschule*.

The most outstanding feature of the *Frauenoberschule* in contrast with the ordinary secondary school is the practical experience in the fields of social work, care of the sick and unfortunate, education of young children and youth welfare. During the first year the girls are introduced to their practical work by experience in the crib-schools and kindergartens. Later they take an active part in a nursery school, kindergarten, playground, or in a children's library. By observation and some participation they are acquainted with all types of welfare activities that provide care for the children of women in industry. Likewise insight into living and working conditions is afforded in order to make clear to the students the influence of such factors upon the children and their parents.

In the second year the practical work deals largely with welfare work with children of pre-school age. Intensive coöperation in kindergartens, in recreational centers, hospitals and in the youth welfare bureaus is made the objective basis of the theoretical work, which deals with the pedagogy, psychology and sociology of these institutions.

In the last year the practical activity of the study has to do chiefly with welfare provisions for the child in school and at home. Students must work in child-care institutions or organizations until they are thoroughly acquainted with their methods and problems.

The *Frauenoberschule* is not a technical school; it does not qualify its graduates to teach or to do welfare work. It merely prepares for social activities and women's vocations as the academic school prepares for the so-called learned professions. The two serious problems confronting this type of school are the lack of an adequately trained corps of teachers and the withholding of university recognition.

Hilker points out that every attempt to introduce greater flexibil-

ity into the secondary schools of Germany is shattered on the requirements many universities make that every student entering their courses shall present at least two foreign languages and usually three. While Latin is not required many courses demand it and students are required to do supplementary work in it after reaching the university. Some states have definitely held that the *Deutsche Oberschule* course is not an adequate preparation for university study. The same reaction of conservatism has taken place in the reform of the higher schools of Austria. In Germany every advance made by the introduction of optional courses, by provisions for physical education, music and art has been threatened by the linguists, who are unwilling to permit any marked decline in the dominance of languages over the entire secondary school curriculum. They fight all attempts to unify the lower level of the secondary school in order that pupils of ten and eleven years may delay from two to three years the choice of a school course and subsequent vocation. The majority of foreign language professors, especially those teaching Latin, are jealous of every postponement or curtailment of their courses. Therefore, they are not interested in schemes for unifying the entire school system, so that the gap between elementary and secondary schools may be bridged over by offering possibilities of transfer from one department to another, or the elementary and secondary school systems be ultimately united into one common school system with direct connection between the close of the elementary period and the beginning of the differentiated secondary courses.

The universities also view with disfavor most suggestions presented for specific secondary school reform. They appear to be well enough satisfied with the graduates they have received and they are not disposed to risk any fluctuation in standards. They have permitted some modifications in the examination given at the close of the secondary school. The usual oral and written examination in major and minor subjects is continued, but music or art may now be offered as one of the minor subjects. Pupils are also permitted to present an independent piece of work—a senior thesis which is the result of investigation in a chosen field and shows the student's power of organizing and presenting material. In some schools this opportunity for free work and exercise of the pupils' initiative is well

used and has produced very interesting results, not only in the completed essays but also in a changed attitude toward study.

The standard of the German secondary schools remains high and the spirit of the time has brought some flexibility in procedure, but real secondary school reform has not taken place. In 1922, Thuringia had a plan that went to the heart of the matter, but political reaction set aside any immediate hope of realization. Saxony has had the same experience. Until secondary schools have the same privileges as elementary schools enjoy to gather teachers with a common interest in school reform and to be freed from such binding requirements as now exist, they can never carry on experiments in secondary education, except in very limited fashion. It is not likely that they will be given such privileges, for they are more remote from the center of control than are the elementary schools. City authorities are chiefly responsible for elementary education but state authorities direct higher education. Since the universities are likewise state institutions, the interlinking of interests is almost unavoidable, and the weakness of local government or public sentiment is explicable. Elementary school reforms have the support of the proletariat and the radicals of all classes, but the secondary schools are chiefly in the hands of moderates or conservatives, who are more interested in preserving the existing order than in modifying it in any extreme fashion. Most of the people of the middle and upper classes feel that enough harm has been done already by innovations that have permeated the whole school system. They may welcome the more human atmosphere that now pervades secondary schools, but they are unwilling to admit further changes of serious consequence to matter or method, lest the scholastic standards that have been their pride in the past, should sink. They are not yet so thoroughly democratic as to welcome the intrusion of the lower classes in the secondary schools and universities and they are not disposed to reshape Germany's higher schools to the needs of the working people.

CHAPTER XVII

The Curricula of Elementary and Secondary Schools

"The structure of the curriculum cannot be determined scientifically only; it is, after all, a work of art, organically developed and a unity in itself."
KERSCHENSTEINER

THE curriculum of the German elementary school has been modified in several ways. The content is richer and more varied. Subject matter lines are less conspicuous. Greater freedom of choice is allowed the pupil and more liberty is granted the individual teacher and school. Community characteristics are reflected prominently in the work of the school and social needs are met by group effort. The organization of the curriculum is characterized by a high degree of flexibility and the method of work by increased pupil activity.

The content has been enriched because of an expanding view of the amount and kind of education suitable for the common people. So long as they were subjects in an autocratic monarchy it was sufficient for them to become literate and efficient in their humble vocations. It was not deemed advisable for elementary school pupils to be so conversant with different sources of information that they attained a high standard of culture or a critical attitude on controversial issues. Formerly this restriction forbade the enrichment of the elementary school curriculum. Much had to be left out lest the pupils become culturally ambitious and socially malcontent. Much was included that had little value except as propaganda. The Three R's and the minimum essentials in language, history and geography were taught thoroughly but with a bias toward utility and national interests. There was much repetition of similar units of subject matter at different levels, because the key-note of the elementary school of the empire was *training* by methods of drill, memorization and the question-and-answer recitation.

With the establishment of the republic, the new constitution places upon each citizen responsibility for making decisions on national policy and it recognizes the right of each individual to a lib-

eral education. Therefore, the curriculum of the elementary school has to expand. The minimum essentials with strictly utilitarian aims find their supremacy challenged by the arts, crafts, music, science, sport, clubs and a host of activities. Pupils and teachers in the new elementary schools recognize no limit to their claims on the accumulated cultural inheritance of the race. As participants in a democracy, they not only assert their right to explore any field of knowledge, which interests them, but they feel also the need of acquiring such information and techniques as will help them solve the personal problems confronting them daily in real life. The old school had shaped them according to the wishes of their overlords, but the new school means to help them serve their own needs.

It does this by becoming a school of life, where the interests of pupils determine the content and method of school instruction. Toys, stories and plays for the small child find their way into primary classes. Games, festivals and neighborhood life become the centers of interest that utilize the Three R's incidentally, but go far beyond these traditional subjects of instruction. Teachers are not even satisfied to let the spontaneous interests of children limit the curriculum, but they lead their classes on excursions that widen each child's circle of interests by bringing him in touch with many new and vivid experiences.

Such expansion of experience produces a corresponding enrichment of the curriculum on the intermediate level. Groups make intensive studies of the local environment and extend their view to include the nation's history, industries and world relations. Natural science, technical processes, political organization and social problems find their place in the curriculum of the upper elementary school grades. Occasionally an ambitious group even undertakes the study of one foreign language, English, as a means of getting into closer touch with the world outside their own country. This pushing-out of the elementary school curriculum into fields hitherto untouched by the German *Volksschule,* is exemplified in several cases where an upper division or *Oberbau,* consisting of two additional classes for pupils fifteen and sixteen years of age, has been allowed to grow out of the old eight-grade elementary school. This move means a declaration of freedom on the part of the elementary school. Thereby teachers and pupils assert their own power to enter any field of study and their independence of the secondary school, which

previously had a monopoly on the advanced cultural subjects and offered the only avenue of approach to higher learning.

Expansion of the curriculum of the eight-grade elementary school is accompanied by integration of the subjects in the course of study. Whereas reading, arithmetic, writing, history and geography formerly occupied separate compartments in the course and distinct divisions of time on the daily schedule, the new school has less regard for subject lines and proceeds to organize its curriculum around centers of interest that develop large units of work, which bring two, three, four or more subjects into a reciprocal relation. On the primary level the idea of integration is carried so far that every subject is merged in some activity, which makes use of music, language, art, reading or number as the development of the project may require. Primary teachers do not have to concern themselves greatly about standard attainment of their pupils in any field, for they assume that every subject will receive its due share of attention within the first three years of school life, so that their abler pupils may then transfer to the secondary school, if that is the wish of the parents.

Above the *Grundschule* the intermediate elementary grades begin to differentiate subjects to some extent, but the principle of integrated instruction is still forceful in holding related subjects, like history and geography, or reading and language in close connection. The union of these four subjects, with others linked up incidentally, has given a new name, *Kulturkunde*, or the study of civilization, to one large section of the modern elementary school curriculum, similar to that covered by the social studies in progressive American schools.

The recognition of social interests in children at this level has brought about such an emphasis on group activity in German schools that it is possible to develop much richer units of work than could be attempted by individual effort, which was the mode of study in the old classroom where each pupil worked for himself alone and was forbidden to secure help or share results with his comrades. Now practically every unit is developed coöperatively. For example, a class may combine individual studies of the topography and geology of a region, the plant and animal life, the racial migrations and political changes that have passed over it, the local legends and folklore, mention of the district in national literature, domestic and

ecclesiastical architecture, native sons of prominence, time-honored peasant occupations and modern industries, native customs, pastimes and dress, dialects and superstitions, traditional festivals, dances and songs. They record all this information by writing reports, acting plays, noting references, drawing maps, making accurate sketches of places of interest, painting favorite scenes or past epochs imaginatively, learning folk music and making collections of illustrative objects.

According to the extent of such centers of interest, the various school subjects are drawn upon and fused in work toward the main objective. If the unit is comprehensive every subject contributes something. It is no longer the fashion to teach any subject in isolation continually. Each requires a certain amount of separate treatment to insure training in techniques and drill on facts, but it is considered desirable for this type of learning to be motivated by some immediate need for use of the subject in connection with a center of interest occupying the attention of the class at the moment. Arithmetic is isolated to a greater extent than any other subject of the curriculum. Writing and spelling did not receive much attention as separate subjects in the old German elementary school so that their integration is not a novelty.

Unification of the upper elementary school curriculum is seldom pressed to the point where continuity in the development of important subjects is unduly hampered. Nor is it thought necessary that all art and craft work be centered around a current topic or group activity. The pupil is often left free to follow his own fancy. The new German schools tend to give greater leeway in these fields than do many American schools, where drawing, painting and crafts often focus exclusively on a group project and leave little opportunity for freer creative expression. As a rule, the German intermediate class does not have just one hyper-integrated unit of work, but the pupils are simultaneously occupied with one major center and three or four minor interests that may be totally unrelated. Thus provision is made for a variety of activities and for individual differences in taste and ability.

In the Community Schools especially are to be found methods of organizing class groups and combining class periods in ways which reënforce the integrated curriculum. A class may form a working body with the teacher or a pupil as chairman and a succes-

sion of pupils serving as secretary. In the morning as the group convenes to take up the business of the day, they outline the topics of immediate interest and this centers their efforts on three or four outstanding problems, which may demand the service of as many school subjects. Thus their daily schedule is divided into large blocks of time corresponding to the jobs on hand. Each unit of work is handled in turn, the allotted amount of progress made, the next steps indicated, assignments given to individuals responsible for further preparation, and a record of the day's achievements is set down by the secretary, whose report usually shows the contribution made by the various school subjects and points out special needs for drill or study. Individuals frequently keep a private record of their own attainments and study needs. They are always responsible for setting down assignments delegated to them by the class or the teacher for future reports to the group. In such *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* the social unity of the class seems to parallel and further the unification of subjects in the curriculum. Both represent an effort to strengthen units by integrating them in a whole.

The individual has not been forgotten, however, by those eager to integrate the curriculum and socialize instruction. More freedom of choice is allowed pupils than ever before. In fact, elective subjects have appeared in the German elementary school for the first time. Hitherto the course of study was a Procrustean bed, to which every pupil had to be fitted regardless of his abilities and tastes. The gifted and the dull, the child of practical bent and the one artistically inclined, had to follow exactly the same course, if they remained in the elementary school. That inflexible condition has now been remedied.

As the present elementary school takes form from the natural methods of child activity and the spontaneous interests of childhood, it finds itself with a varied curriculum, wherein all children can select occupations to their tastes and tasks within the range of their abilities. Group organization itself is essentially different from the old type of class organization. Formerly the *class* signified uniformity and compulsion bearing down on individuals to make all meet a standard, whereby a set of pupils, by nature variant, took on the semblance of identity, yet actually remained unrelated units. Nowadays the group welcomes diversity and encourages variation among its members as a source of enrichment for group interests and social

life. The strength of the group or community lies in the fact that both bring together individuals who can plan and those who can execute, those who dream and those who can act, those by nature solitary and those who are instinctively good fellows, those habitually critical and cautious and those who are tolerant and confident.

From such blending of personalities group life attains higher levels than the individual could reach alone. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the schools that believe in this increment of social values to supply within the curriculum of the elementary school such a variety of the materials of learning as will be needed to fit the wants of all sorts of persons. Thus the school group and eventually adult society will be furnished a succession of distinctive personalities, oriented according to their native abilities and well able to divide the problems of their group among themselves. This is an ideal of social efficiency held by the new schools of Germany in the hope that they may surpass the work of those earlier schools, which turned out a standardized series of persons, who were supposedly well balanced, because they had completed a logically organized course of study, but who were actually out of harmony with themselves and their environment in many cases, because the school had failed to take account of each pupil's psychic center of gravity. New schools permit differentiation within the group as a general means of granting freedom to the individual and insuring his stability in society.

Some of the German public schools have taken another step in this direction by providing a limited number of elective courses in the intermediate grades. The free choice periods of the three primary classes are carried into the upper grades, but with a more definite organization suited to older children. The core subjects of the curriculum remain fixed for a whole class, so that approved standards in German, mathematics and the social sciences are not endangered. Pupils are free to elect work in arts, crafts, science, and physical recreation at their own pleasure. Different institutions organize their elective courses with reference to the age of the children or the space and equipment available. There may be a chance to shift from one shop or studio to another every two months. Some courses are of one semester's duration and a few for the older pupils require enrollment for an entire year. This is as far as individualization of the curriculum goes in the German elementary schools. There have

been no significant experiments with individual methods and materials like those evolved under the Dalton and Winnetka plans and now found in many forms in schools at home and abroad as one phase of the testing movement for scientific direction of education.

The framework of the curriculum in every German elementary school is outlined by state and city departments of education, but each school and each teacher has a considerable amount of latitude in deciding just what units of work, what skills and information shall receive attention in any class. Such freedom is possible partly because there are no set examinations in the elementary school. Weekly, monthly or semester tests are unknown in the primary school and infrequent in the intermediate grades. Many teachers give an oral quiz when they wish to check up on their own judgment of a pupil's progress before recording his standing on the report card. The only real examination an elementary pupil has to face is that given when he wishes to transfer to a middle or secondary school. Neither of these tests is very exacting at present since their purpose is not to quiz the applicant on information, but to gain some impression of his general ability and promise of development in advanced school work. Throughout the elementary school course pupils are marked according to the quality of their daily work as shown by notebooks, recitations and participation in group activities. The observation records or pupil biographies now kept in many schools serve to focus the teachers' attention on many other pupil traits equally as important as scholastic attainment.

The freedom of the German elementary schools in curriculum making and in subject standards is traceable to the fact that the secondary school had exercised little pressure on the elementary schools before the democratic reorganization of the national school system took place. Since the secondary schools formerly conducted their own elementary preparatory classes, they were comparatively indifferent to the standards of the mass of schools, which sent them few pupils. Transfer from the eighth grade of the elementary school to the upper level of the secondary school was so unusual before the war that the elementary school took little account of such a contingency, but shaped its curriculum chiefly with reference to pupils who would terminate their school life at the age of fourteen and thereafter enter a vocational school or become apprentices, and attend a part-time continuation school. In the reorganized German

school system, however, there are two or three points of transfer from the elementary grades to the secondary school. The large number of elementary school pupils now entering higher institutions has already brought forth protests from secondary school professors, who fear that their standards are being lowered because of the mass of ill prepared pupils sent them from the elementary schools. Their criticism is directed at the loosely organized curricula and the freer methods of the new schools.

Even though more definite organization of the elementary school curriculum should be enforced by pressure from above, there are certain new features of elementary school practice which would probably stand firm and resist reaction. The German educational reform rests upon a set of basic principles, which are not altogether dependent upon grade placement of subject matter or fixed standards of achievement. The curriculum of the new elementary school is centered around the child. Through his activity he makes the factors in his environment and the subject matter of instruction an integral part of his experience. The unity of the self in each pupil demands a corresponding unity in the curriculum and leads to the integration of all kinds of incidental learnings in the center of work and within the personality of the learner. The pupil no longer lives and works in the classroom as a detached individual, but he merges himself in the group, where his own interests find stimulation and his abilities are combined with those of others. The set-up of the school is designed to release the creative powers of the group and the individual. Both must be rooted firmly in the culture of their age and race to release the potentialities they bear and to produce works of use to their fellows. These principles are fundamental to the theory of the curriculum in the German elementary school to-day, and their practical application is being attempted in many situations.

The law now forbids the secondary schools to maintain their own preparatory classes, so they are compelled to draw their enrollments altogether from the elementary schools. There seems little possibility that the secondary schools will be affected by the reform spirit to any considerable extent. It is not improbable that they will eventually compel elementary schools sending pupils to them, to adopt more definite curricula. This is all the more likely, since the vast majority of secondary school teachers are hostile to radical experi-

ments in education. The higher the institution the more conservative its outlook in Germany, and the more powerful its control over school affairs. Even the universities are concerned about elementary school reforms as never before, for the common school and the "open road" mean that elementary school pupils eventually penetrate to the academic fastness of the university. The guardians of its standards are too proud of their high scholastic reputation to risk invasion by students whose elementary years gave them inadequate training. The struggle is on and it remains to be seen whether the popularization of higher education in Germany will result in a lowering of its standards or a tightening up of the elementary school curriculum at the demand of the secondary school and university professors.

Two forces in Germany have determined the recent evolution of the secondary school curriculum: first, the effort to derive educational values for youth from the life and culture of the German race and people, and second, the effort to draw all members of the race into unified national life. The stronger the desire for unity among the several German states became, the more emphasis has been placed upon German nationality, *Deutsches Volkstum,* in language, history and art in the school. As much as fifty years ago, even in the *Gymnasium,* German took precedence over Latin and Greek. In 1908 German was assigned the chief rôle in *Oberrealschulen* in Saxony. The programs of later years have assigned more time to German, history and geography, while recently the *Deutsche Oberschule* has been created with the express function of developing the materials of German culture.

The special purpose of all secondary schools is to develop able young men and women as bearers and furtherers of German culture and nationalism. The curricula of these schools, therefore, must pay heed to this problem. German, history, geography, *Heimatkunde* or study of environment, civics and the natural sciences, must give the pupils an adequate understanding of the memorable creations of the German mind and spirit. Speech and literature, folk ways and customs, arts and crafts, countryside and landscape, labor and industry must disclose to the boys and girls the evolution, being and life of the German people. *Deutschkunde*—study of things German—becomes basic in all instruction. Even the foreign languages are

employed to make German characteristics clearer in the light of foreign cultures.

The essential aim of the school as it is now conceived, is to fire youth with enthusiasm for service to the race, and to make each generation conscious that its fate is indissolubly linked with the fate of its people—with their joys and sorrows, their successes and failures. Grave danger may lie in this conception of education for it might lead to national arrogance or to imperialistic greed for power. Germans themselves feel that this danger does not exist and there is an element in the situation which will offset dangers. The secondary school gives its pupils manifold contacts with the thought and effort of foreign peoples. The German boy or girl is expected to recognize and respect the peculiar characteristics of other races and their contributions to the world's progress and to that of his own country. The cultural commonwealth of the entire world is thus revealed to him and humanitarianism as a universal obligation is stressed.

The new regulations in many German states urge the teachers in secondary schools to acquaint the pupils more intimately than hitherto with the accomplishments and characters of foreign peoples. Many Germans freely admit that they falsely estimated not only the power and resources of their neighbors, but also misunderstood their mental and spiritual make-up. Article 148 of the Constitution makes it obligatory for the schools to further international understanding and good will. It reads: "In all schools effort shall be made to develop moral education, public-mindedness and personal and vocational efficiency in the spirit of German national character and international conciliation."

It has been Germany's great misfortune that state and people developed apart. The unity of national life and thought, which withstood the effects of defeat and revolution, is still a matter of grave concern for the schools. Too much emphasis was formerly placed upon the individual and upon individual classes. The political indifference of the educated classes in Germany has had vicious results.

It is a function of the school to develop consciousness and appreciation of the state. This is a particularly difficult problem in the secondary schools. Many of the teachers are not enthusiastic republicans and have little sympathy for the new order of things. The

history instruction in many schools is consequently colorless, since the teachers can say nothing against the present form of the state and will say little for it, so that an attitude of neglect in the whole field is observable. The *Gymnasien*, the classical schools, usually have reactionary teachers and draw their pupils from the conservative classes, with the result that an undercurrent of disloyalty to things as they now are has been common, but is rapidly passing away as the republic stands firm.

The great chasm between the educated and the uneducated classes in Germany has always been very great and is still a source of much concern to those interested in a united people. Many secondary school pupils acquire the "arrogance of education." It rests upon the misconception of "being educated," and they fail to see that the harmonious development of an individual and a nation is approached from many roads, not alone by the mastery of literary and scientific materials but also by active daily life and productive vocation.

The German secondary school pupil has always been educated away from life about him, in spite of the fact that a large majority of the pupils must enter directly into their life occupations upon leaving the school. Emphasis has been placed upon the past and the present has been neglected. Many generations have taken this "aloofness from the world" attitude into life with them and have suffered bitterly on that account. This condition is rapidly improving in the secondary school because of changes in curriculum content and a new method of instruction, which carries the pupils out into life as it really is in the community surrounding the school. An American can scarcely realize how impractical German boys are and how different their view of the world is from that of typical American boys.

The most important changes taking place in the German secondary schools are essentially little more than delayed adaptation to the economic development which Germany has undergone in the last half century. Some call it capitulation to the "utilitarianism of practice." In spite of all opposition to the inclusion of phases of modern life in the secondary school curriculum, instructional materials of modern origin have forced their way into a place of prominence in all school types. In fact, the German secondary schools are in a sense vocational schools. While each type endeavors to give its pupils a general background of education, each one has a special mission to

perform. In the case of the *Gymnasium* the curriculum must keep in mind the fact that all pupils leaving it to study at the university in the fields of philosophy, law, certain phases of teaching and theology, must be equipped with some Latin and Greek. If the *Gymnasium* does not perform this service, the student at the university is seriously handicapped. The *Oberrealschule* furnishes some pre-vocational training in that it offers the pupil thorough preparation in mathematics and natural sciences. However, the secondary school is not in any danger of becoming a vocational school in any technical sense of the word, although it does give basic preparation for later professions.

This specialization has been modified in schools favoring the "core and course" system. As early as 1907 some secondary schools in Saxony allowed pupils in the two upper classes to choose either a language and history section or a mathematics and science section. This was done to give mature pupils more intensive and fruitful occupation with those subjects for which they had talent and interest. The arrangement also provided an easier transfer from restricted secondary school procedure to the freedom of university work.

With the rapid increase of factual knowledge on all hands the problem has arisen in Germany, as well as in our own country, of deciding what shall be put into the curriculum and what shall be left out. The several sciences demand that new and proven discoveries in their respective fields shall find a place in the program of the secondary school. The curriculum becomes the field of battle for their representatives. Each one desires to see his subject regarded as the most important. This may be excused on the ground of the specialist's great enthusiasm, but no excuse affords relief to the pupil. The school is faced by the problem of accomplishing almost impossible tasks and the pupils are faced by the danger of being suffocated with too much information and of having too little time to assimilate it.

Without doubt the modern secondary school curriculum in Germany contains fifty per cent more material than was the case half a century ago, and there seems no way to avoid requiring the pupils of the secondary schools to make contact with these new materials. The solution lies in making better use of the pupil's time and this can be done only by teaching him better methods of work, affording him more adequate facilities for study and providing him

teachers who can furnish skillful guidance through the great mass of subject matter which lies before him. Along these lines the German schools are endeavoring to solve the problem of overloading the curriculum.

Immediately following the war there was an insistent demand for reorganization of the secondary schools. Two new types, the *Deutsche Oberschule* and the *Aufbauschule*, were created to specialize in the new curricula. The first emphasizes modern subject matter and German culture. The second is organized to keep secondary school entrance open until pupils are thirteen or fourteen years of age, when special five-year curricula afford them preparation for university entrance in lieu of the customary nine-year secondary school course.

The curricula of all Prussian secondary schools are based on the suggestions issued by the Prussian Ministry of Science, Art and Public Education. The key note of these suggestions is unification. Secondary schools are to be organized and incorporated within the national school system, so that they will articulate with the four-year elementary school below and the university above. At the same time the unity of German culture is to be preserved in spite of the diversified types of secondary schools.

To this end the subjects which transmit German culture stand as core subjects in all secondary schools. These subjects are religion, German, history, civics, science and geography. In addition all schools are required to offer music, drawing and art with some crafts for boys and sewing for girls. Physical education in the form of gymnastics, games, sports, hiking, swimming and rowing are likewise compulsory, the exercise depending on facilities available. These three groups of subjects form the backbone of all secondary school curricula. They are not offered in the same way in all secondary schools, since each subject is modified appreciably by its relation to subjects which are *characteristic* of the different school types. For example, religion would not be the same in the *Gymnasium* where the student has long and thorough training in Latin and Greek, as in an *Oberrealschule* where the pupil would have to interpret religion without the aid of the classical languages. The position of the core subjects at the heart of the program assures the articulation of the secondary schools with other departments of the school system and provides that common training thought necessary for all German youths on this educational level.

Each secondary school, in addition to the core subjects, arts and physical education which are common to all, has its own characteristic courses that distinguish it from all other types and which give it the means of performing its special function. Each secondary school is, in a way, a vocational or prevocational school in that its curriculum leads definitely to one group of professions and not to another. In fact, the boy who has completed the *Oberrealschule* finds it difficult to enter the school of law, philosophy or theology at the university, while the boy from the *Gymnasium* has his difficulties in entering an engineering school or other scientific fields without additional study to make up the lack of his secondary school preparation. Latin and Greek and ancient civilization are the characteristic subjects of the *Gymnasium;* Western European civilization taught through Latin, French and English is the dominant note of the *Realgymnasium;* the natural sciences and mathematics mark the *Oberrealschule* as the school of modern science and contemporary life, while the German bias distinguishes the *Deutsche Oberschule* as the German *Gymnasium.*

The most outstanding and possibly the most worth-while feature of the secondary curriculum is the unity among the several subjects which make up its program. This can be understood fully only if one takes the trouble to read entire courses of study, for one will then see the close integration of all materials leading toward the major objectives of secondary education. This does not consist in accidental and thoughtless overlapping, but in careful selection, organization, and articulation of all elements of subject matter and educative experience toward the ends in view. Such organic coördination is necessary since "education toward unity in national consciousness, in the state, in understanding of law and in community life, and since community education in all fields of life as well as the harmonious development of personality are only possible in a common educational activity reaching out over the individual subjects of instruction."

German secondary schools are able to cover much material, because instruction is integrated around centers of interest and dominant themes. A few important problems or cross sections of human experience afford the pupils an understanding of life rather than the mastery of encyclopedic knowledge.

Such concentration was needed in the German secondary school because of the quantity of subjects in the courses and the large num-

ber of hours spent in classes. Although the hours have been reduced in some states, it is not unusual for a pupil to carry twelve or fourteen subjects, when arts, crafts and physical education are included. All the important subjects appear on the schedule every year until a pupil is graduated so that nothing is entirely dropped or forgotten. Since each subject requires one to six hours of class attendance a pupil's weekly total of hours may run up to thirty-one or thirty-six. School is in session six days a week with two free afternoons for recreation. Since the school year is ten months long, there has arisen much criticism of the study load adolescents carry. The danger was serious in the past, but it is now somewhat relieved by the more active methods of instruction in all classes and the allotment of more time to manual work and physical exercise. Ten full days each year are now used for school journeys. Some states have also set aside ten *Studientage,* home study days, for the upper classes. The older pupils are freed from class attendance one day a month, in order to spend the time in reading, thesis writing, or independent study according to their needs. Thus the burden of the secondary school pupil has been reduced somewhat.

The leaving examination, which guarantees university entrance, is the final court of judgment for reforms in the curricula of secondary schools. The improved form and intent of the maturity examination assures to pupils a fairer measure of their abilities and to schools a reasonable test of their experiments.

There are a few secondary schools, like the Lichtwark School in Hamburg, the Cathedral School in Lübeck, the *Aufbauschule* in Neukölln and the various *Landerziehungsheime* already described, which are allowed unusual liberty to experiment with new curricula and methods of instruction. The results from such school types, as from all *Deutsche Oberschulen* and *Aufbauschulen,* are still inconclusive and the authorities are not yet satisfied that their pupils measure up with those from long established schools. The graduates of these experimental schools are tentatively accepted at the universities in accordance with an agreement between all the states for a period of time, at the end of which a conference will be called to discuss results from the new schools. Thus new forms of the curriculum are allowed to develop experimentally.

CHAPTER XVIII

Examinations for the Selection of Pupils

"We wish to estimate and take into account the child's force of character and creative power, as well as his intellectual ability."

DÖRING

THE German school reform as a whole has given little attention to psychological examinations or measurements of achievement. But interest in various types of tests for ability has been given some impetus by that clause in the Constitution of the new German Republic which extends opportunities for higher education to children from all levels of the population in a wider degree than was customary before the war. Article 146 decrees that "The admission of a pupil to a particular school shall be determined by his *ability* and inclination, and not by the economic and social status of his parents nor by their religious affiliation." Thus the selection of those elementary school pupils who are to enjoy the privilege of secondary education becomes an act of social justice, insuring to all children school facilities which are in accord with their needs and capacities.

When the *Grundschule* law was passed in 1920, requiring all German children from six to ten years to attend the common school through the first four elementary grades, there arose the further problem of democratizing the secondary schools and, in order to wipe out social distinctions, ability was made the criterion for admission.

In spite of their hearty acceptance of democratic principles and the socialistic leanings of certain groups, there are few German educational reformers who even dream of providing equal educational opportunities for all individuals. They do not interpret democracy as meaning equality of men but they think of it as a state of affairs offering opportunity according to ability. They are perfectly willing to recognize the difference in the native endowment of individuals, but they refuse to have human beings limited in their develop-

ment by the extraneous circumstances of social caste or financial status to which they may be born. Schools from the kindergarten through the university are to be opened alike to the children of laborers and capitalists. The one criterion of selection is to be the capacity to profit by educational advantages. This interpretation of democracy implies that equality of opportunity does not require that the same school course be offered all pupils, but it means rather that various courses should be provided which are so fitted to the needs, interests and capacities of groups and individuals that none suffer neglect.

Differentiation of school courses requires some mode of selecting those pupils qualified for particular types of work. Although the widespread selection of middle and secondary school enrollments from the elementary school population of entire cities was something of an innovation it met with comparatively little opposition. European secondary schools have always been designed for the intellectually and socially élite. But these two qualities did not always coincide. In the past there has been much complaint that secondary school standards suffered because unqualified pupils were admitted and carried along in classes at the expense of the abler members. There were not infrequent tragedies of undue strain on weak pupils, of their ultimate failure to keep up with the pace of their class, of individuals unwisely forced into courses against their natural bent and of parental sacrifice and disappointments.

But the most powerful factor favoring the extension of educational opportunities on the basis of a selective examination was the demand of the working classes that their children be granted fuller rights of admission to the secondary schools and universities. It was the Social Democrats and other parties of the left wing that had engineered the revolution, and with their newly gained power they inaugurated educational legislation which fortified the school reform. They were particularly eager to have able individuals in their group adequately trained to become leaders capable of carrying forward the new governmental régime as officials or of supporting it as private citizens.

It was not left to individual schools or systems to decide whether they would select the more able pupils, but the logical consequence of the new political philosophy as applied to education was enforced by law, so that some sort of selection was mandatory. It remained

for the educators themselves to adopt or devise the type of selective procedure they felt would prove satisfactory. Many were content with following the recommendations of elementary school teachers as expressed in the usual reports and class marks. Others were inclined to let the secondary schools pass judgment upon the applicants. A few maintained that the old type of natural selection was as good as any, and they argued that the best pupils came from the families of good economic and social status who gave their children a rich cultural background and always sent them to the higher schools anyway, so that any special examining process was superfluous.

Impetus had been given to the formulation of tests by a movement to establish schools or classes for gifted children. A few years ago there was much said in Germany about such special provisions, and the phrases "Make way for the gifted" or the "rise of the ablest" were commonly seen in educational writings. There were a few attempts to single out highly gifted pupils and segregate them in special classes with enriched or accelerated courses, but the general trend of opinion among German educators now is against such a policy and in favor of a gradation of difficulty within the school courses themselves with a distribution of pupils according to their fitness for particular school types.

The determination of educative capacity in thousands of children at ten years of age is a tremendous problem. Different schools and different cities have sought the solution in various ways. The chief factor of weight in making decisions is now commonly conceded to be the opinion of elementary school teachers, as expressed in descriptive reports of personality and behavior, as well as marks on achievement in various subjects. These judgments are as good or as bad as the intelligence of the teachers. In some cases a child may have been with the same teacher throughout the four years of the *Grundschule* course; in others his record is made up of the combined statements of four different teachers from the separate grades. Since special teaching scarcely enters into the primary school, there is little confusion from the introduction of the opinions of part-time instructors.

The transfer of pupils from the elementary schools to the middle and secondary schools has to be carried out with some regard for the stipulations made in the school law. There it is expressly stated

that the higher schools are not to set the requirements for admission, but that elementary and secondary teachers together are to work out the type of selection that seems to fit the local situation best. Uniformity throughout the country is not sought. Indeed, a formal examination can be omitted altogether if the schools transferring pupils and the schools receiving them agree on a standard of qualification by some other means, such as the school report or inter-school conference.

Usually it has been found more convenient to form a committee on examinations, consisting of an equal number of elementary and secondary school teachers with a representation of women teachers proportionate to the enrollment of girls in the schools of the locality. A single committee may handle the transfer of pupils for the entire community, or smaller committees can be formed to deal with the promotion of pupils to particular types of secondary schools. The chairman is generally a secondary school teacher and the posts of examiner and recorder are held alternately by representatives of the elementary and the secondary schools. The hearing is never public and it differs in this respect from the time honored procedure for the maturity examination in secondary schools and the doctor's examination in universities.

The committee determines the content of the examination which generally includes questions on the following points:

1. Environment: folklore and verse, geographical characteristics of region, knowledge of city and district maps, native plants and animals, local history.
2. Language: short composition about a familiar subject; fair form in spelling, expression, grammar; ability to write in Latin script, to read both German and Latin print; retell content of story heard; repeat some verses; knowledge of simple grammatical forms.
3. Arithmetic: know common coins, linear and square measures; mental and written computation with small numbers in four fundamental processes; know values of simple fractions.
4. Drawing: drawing of a simple and familiar object with pencil or charcoal.

No matter how carefully such an examination is conducted, it does not satisfy those teachers who are trying to break away from the

traditional subject matter examination and who are seeking more effective and objective standards for the measurement of ability.

Even before the educational sections of the Constitution were adopted it was apparent that an increasing number of educators was keenly interested in the researches going on in experimental pedagogy and psychology. They looked to the newer methods for testing intelligence and various types of ability with the hope that a selective procedure could be found which would be more accurate than personal judgments and more illuminating than the old tests of knowledge. They felt this need strongly because the new ideals in education were less concerned with a pupil's store of facts than with his character or total personality. Educators had ceased to look upon the higher schools as places for training scholars and had begun to value them as centers for giving all-round development to the best youth of the land. The problem was not only one of conserving the finest human material in the nation, but it was also that of discovering and utilizing the varied potentialities of an individual—of developing his mind, body, and spirit. All these demands created need for a type of examination which had not yet been devised. Few school men were content with the existing instruments for measurement of intelligence or achievement. They felt that the aim of the educational reform would be partially lost unless better means for selecting able pupils were found. Consequently, at the close of the war, not only psychologists, but committees of teachers also, turned their efforts toward construction and trial of various standards for estimating pupils' abilities.

It was significant of the broadened concept of education that a comprehensive study of the individual pupil was desired rather than a series of objective tests alone. The old type of examination for measuring knowledge was generally rejected. In several cities selection was based upon four sources of information:

1. A physician's statement of the pupil's physical condition.
2. An observation record kept throughout the first four years of a child's school life.
3. The usual report marks for achievement in various subjects.
4. A psychological test, which attempted to evaluate intelligence, force of character and creative power.

No one claimed that the latter qualities could be accurately measured, but, at least, some extension of the knowledge test was thought desirable and the effort to consider such factors as these seemed necessary. When observation of personal traits over a long period is combined with test results, there is some chance of getting a true picture of a pupil's ability and character. Certainly the study of human nature and behavior has advanced to a point where schools will do well to make use of the findings of psychologists and sociologists, and to offer the experiences of teachers as guidance to further researches in these fields.

One of the German leaders in the construction and application of selection tests is Professor William Stern, psychologist in the University of Hamburg. In the spring of 1918 he directed an examination for the selection of 1,000 fourth-grade pupils who appeared to be especially capable of entering twenty-two beginning classes of a new five-year upper elementary school division which was to offer two foreign languages and to reach the middle school standard in one year less than the usual time, graduating pupils at fifteen years instead of sixteen. Part of the general value of this experiment with tests was lost because of the disfavor with which many educators looked upon acceleration of school progress. Unfortunately the terms "selective examination" and "gifted pupils" became associated with the idea of pushing and cramming so that strong prejudices were aroused in various quarters. A similar use of tests in Berlin brought the same objections and strengthened opposition to schemes for measuring ability or segregating the more capable pupils.

Some of the hostility may also have been due to the fact that the introduction of modern language courses in the elementary grades was an obvious attempt to extend the principle of the common school, the *Einheitschule*, upward from the first four grades, the *Grundschule*. This tendency is violently opposed by parties of the right wing and all social conservatives. The secondary schools fight it, because it endangers their prerogatives as the exclusive guardians of higher educational standards. The middle schools fear it, because their position is not altogether secure and, if the elementary schools took over their intermediary function, the very existence of the Middle Schools would be endangered. German educators are not

generally opposed to the principle of selection of secondary school enrollments, although they may question some of its applications.

Several cities were much interested in the success of the Hamburg tests and undertook to select enrollments for their own higher schools on a more scientific basis than had been used heretofore. A detailed report on a selective procedure as applied to an entire school system has been made by Dr. W. O. Döring of Lübeck.

Lübeck is a city in northern Germany with a population of 125,000 and a school enrollment of 15,000. The public school system includes two schools for physical and mental defectives, sixteen elementary schools, five middle schools and six secondary schools. The latter offer specialized courses, and the choice of a secondary school type largely determines the future vocation of a pupil. Lübeck has a *Gymnasium, Reformrealgymnasium, Realschule* and *Oberrealschule* for boys. For girls there is a combined *Oberlyzeum* and *Studienanstalt* and a *Lyzeum.*

Because of their heritage of Hanseatic independence Lübeck teachers were ready and able to use the opportunity for more democratic direction of the schools, which came as one result of the revolution. In 1920 several extension courses for teachers were begun under the direction of Dr. Döring. Their purpose was to acquaint teachers in active service with the recent scientific investigations in philosophy, psychology and pedagogy. The provision of these courses was the best possible preliminary for meeting the new problems which arose with the reorganization of the German educational system. In 1921 the first classes from the *Grundschulen* entered the secondary schools, and it was evident at once that some better mode of selection must be found in order to insure success to the new plan and justice to the schools and pupils.

Many teachers who had been attending the extension courses became interested in this opportunity for undertaking a practical application of the theories they had been discussing. Forming themselves into a voluntary committee to study the problem and to examine available test materials, they worked out a selective procedure that has proved satisfactory.

Dr. Döring has reported this experiment fully and concisely in his brochure, "*Schülerauslese und psychische Berufsberatung an Lübeckischen Schulen.*" He says, "In our selection we wish to grasp

and take into account the child's force of character and creative power along with his intellectual capacity. We consider, therefore, three kinds of ability:

"1. The power of understanding, which we call intelligence; by which, according to Stern, we mean the general ability to make rational adjustments to new problems and situations in life.
"2. The power of will, which I should like to call initiative, or more exactly, strength of character. It is the ability to raise the quality of achievement through a certain exercise of will, *e.g.*, by industriousness, application or thoroughness.
"3. The power of feeling, which expresses itself particularly in the realm of imagination as the capacity for keener sensitivity, heightened emotionalized expression, or representation of experience. I should like to call this quality imagination or creative power."

Dr. Döring was convinced that the examination standard should not be set by either elementary or secondary schools alone. He was anxious to eliminate the possible errors due to differing institutional standards and varying individual judgments. Yet he felt that it was important for the teachers, themselves, to have a voice in the choice of test elements and a part in actually giving the selective examination. For he did not think a test form handed down from the "green table" could ever meet local needs so well as one constructed by teachers in close touch with the school situation.

Altogether 110 Lübeck teachers worked together in constructing and giving the first selection examination. It was possible to carry out the undertaking on such a broad basis, because there was already a nucleus of those teachers who had been studying experimental psychology and pedagogy for two or three years and who were acquainted with the tests devised by Meumann, Stern, Binet and Simon. A large group studied the Hamburg experiment in detail during the summer of 1923 and made some tentative tests with Lübeck children. During the fall, weekly meetings were held for those teachers who were to undertake a preliminary intelligence test of third grade children in December. These volunteers were relieved from some school duties in order to give their time to the necessary preparation.

Early in the new year a modification of the national *Grundschule* law was made, whereby gifted pupils from the third class were to be allowed promotion to the secondary school one year in advance of the former ruling. This change in the regulations gave fresh interest to the matter of selection. In the spring of 1924, preparations were completed and the new examination procedure was carried out in full with the hearty support of the school authorities. The general committee included the superintendent of schools, the health officer, the psychologist, one man and one woman teacher from the elementary schools, one representative each from the middle schools, the secondary schools and the parents' association.

They presented the following outline of procedure:

"1. A notice in the newspapers was to inform the parents of promotion opportunities and to request them to notify the schools their children attended of their preference among the secondary schools.

"2. The principals of the elementary schools were asked to select the ablest children of the third classes and, after consultation with the parents, to make application for their transfer to secondary schools.

"3. A sub-committee was to receive the applications and organize them for inspection by the other members of the general committee.

"4. Data from five sources was to be taken into account by the general committee in making the final selection:

a—A descriptive report of personal characteristics.
b—School report card, showing marks for first three years.
c—Certificate of health from the school physician.
d—The parents' choice of a secondary school.
e—The result of the intelligence test."

For the first year of the experiment an abbreviated list of points was used to guide judgment of personal qualities. The teachers of the third elementary classes were asked to make a written report on pupils recommended for the examination. At first this consisted of answers to twelve brief questions. Later a comprehensive guide to the observation of pupils was developed and the teachers' reports now accompany an individual throughout his school life. Detailed questions under these main headings attempt to analyze personality:

I. Family situation.
II. Physical condition.
III. School record.
IV. Mental characteristics:
    1. Intellectual tastes and vigor.
    2. Temperament.
    3. Will, initiative and social adaptation.
    4. Method of work.
    5. Endurance.
    6. Attention.
    7. Power of observation.
    8. Memory.
    9. Imagination.
    10. Powers of understanding, thought and judgment.
    11. Language.
    12. Special interests and talents.

Dr. Döring regards such a descriptive report as a better way of getting at the pupil's character and sensitivity than any test would afford, since the teacher who sees the child in his spontaneous behavior over a long period of time knows him better than any examiner can. From the elementary school comes also the usual report card, bearing achievement marks from one to five, indicating the same degrees as excellent, very good, good, fair and unsatisfactory.

For the intelligence examination there is the following series of six test groups:

I. Definitions: knife, fear, aunt, lie (not a homonym in German).
II. Analogies: (The pupil is to find the fourth word to complete the analogy suggested by the three words in each set).

1. summer	rain	winter	.....
2. saber	pierce	gun	.....
3. sit	chair	sleep	.....
4. eye	blind	war	.....
5. knife	cut	needle	.....
6. carpenter	wood	blacksmith	.....
7. good	bad	long	.....
8. water	ship	land	.....
9. sparrow	bird	rose	.....
10. cat	fur	bird	.....

III. Three Word Test: A reasonable association is to be found between the following sets of words.
   1. Horse, bee, fallen rider.
   2. Curious boy, door, nose bleed.
   3. Pedestrian, storm, injury to head.
   4. Thief, dog, prison.

IV. Retention of Ideas: A story related to the pupil is to be retold.

V. Order of Ideas: Each of the following sets of words is to be rearranged in logical sequence.
   1. Healing, bring doctor, football, bandage, broken leg.
   2. Wet clothes, save, play by water, bed, fall in water.
   3. Fire engine, match, extinguished blaze, bring hose, water.
   4. Seizure, thievery, punish, court, pursue.

VI. Comprehension: Answer the following questions.
   1. Why should vehicles on the street always keep to the right?
   2. What should you do if you have broken something which does not belong to you?
   3. What should you do if some one steps upon your foot unintentionally and asks your pardon?
   4. A mother looks accusingly at her child, and the child turns red and drops its eyes. Why?
   5. What would you do if your ball fell on the car tracks and the street car was coming near?
   6. A child, who lives opposite the fire station, is playing alone at home and has matches by the window. A spark sets the curtain afire. What should he do?

Before these tests were actually used in the selection of Lübeck children, they were tried out in the schools of a neighboring town by a small committee of teachers who had worked intensively on the examination form and were capable of standardizing the procedure to secure uniformity. Every school had the privilege of being represented on this committee.

The teachers who were to give the tests in Lübeck were prepared in a series of four meetings during the month preceding the selection examination. Since the boys' schools were accustomed to men as teachers, and the girls' schools to women, care was taken to make the proportion of male and female examiners correspond to

the numbers of boys' and girls' classes. In order to avoid the advantage that might come from being examined by a teacher well known to the group, the assignment of examiners was so made that each teacher was a stranger to the class he tested. The test materials were not given out to the examiners until the night before the examination, in order that no possible leakage through discussion might occur. Two teachers were in charge of the examination of each class. One actually gave the tests and the other took note of any irregularities or interesting reactions.

The method of presentation can be sufficiently understood from the directions given for the first test. The procedure was fixed and binding to all examiners, but had been well adjusted to the understanding of Lübeck children. Each child was given a sheet of paper and the examiner said,

"Write the name of your school at the top on the left. Write your name at the top on the right. Pencils down. Listen and ask no questions.

"You know that we have many foreigners in Lübeck, especially Swedes. Many of them have learned German very well and understand practically everything we say to them. But it may happen that one of them hears a word he does not understand. Then we must explain that word. For instance, if some one does not know what a hammer is, we could tell him 'A hammer is a tool with which you pound.' Or if he does not understand the word obedience, then we could explain to him, 'We are obedient when we do what our parents tell us.'

"Now think carefully how you would explain most clearly to anyone these words, which I shall tell you. Let your pens alone until I say 'Write.' "

The word KNIFE is pronounced to the pupils and written on the blackboard.

"Now think carefully!"

A pause of one half minute is made and in this time no child is allowed to write. The written response of the pupils begins with the signal—

"Now write what that means. To-day beautiful writing does not matter. You may make corrections."

About three minutes is allowed.

"When you have finished, lay down your pen."

The same procedure is followed for the three other words. They are never pronounced in immediate succession or written on the board at one time.

Directions for introducing each of the six test groups to the pupils are similar in detail. The average time required for a single test was twenty-five minutes. In the beginning they were given on two successive days, but it was found that they could be presented on a single day during the regular school periods without the pupils showing any weariness. The fact that the tests were given in the familiar schoolroom situation helped to allay excitement. The finished papers were returned to the central office of the Board of Education, where the work of checking and evaluation was completed. Since the tests had not been standardized previously, the teachers' committee still had before it the work of establishing definite norms of achievement.

Pupils successfully passing these tests are divided into three groups. The highest, or "A" group, pupils are admitted to secondary schools with complete remission or partial reduction of fees, as the economic status of the families may demand. The middle, or "B" group, are also admitted to secondary schools, if they so desire, but they receive no concessions so far as fees are concerned until they have attended the school for a year and proved their ability. They may, however, enter the first class of a German Middle School without paying fees. The lower, or "C" group, may either remain in the elementary school or transfer to the Middle School on probation, if there are vacancies, if the individual appears somewhat above the average of his group, and if his family proposes to pay his fees and keep him in school until he reaches the age of sixteen years.

The sixteen elementary schools of Lübeck varied greatly in the proportion of pupils whose performance in the tests marked them as superior and qualified them for transfer to the secondary schools. Dividing the schools into three groups, ranked according to the percentage of pupils who received superior marks in the tests, it appears that the schools of the highest group lie in the residential part of the city, where families of the upper and middle class live. Those of the second group are in the inner district, or old town, where the population is mixed and the living standard mediocre. The schools of the lower group are in the industrial districts where

working people live. This distribution, then, apparently does support the argument of reactionaries, who claim that the children of the lower classes do not have the ability to profit by higher education. But the socialists will not admit that this apparent inability is real or innate. Rather do they contend that it is the result of social suppression and that it can be removed by improving living standards. They believe that this can be done to some degree through the extension of educational opportunities and there is much evidence to support their argument.

However that may be, the variation in examination results in the different schools is great enough to convince many educators that a common standard of measurement is needed to insure the transfer of pupils really qualified to do secondary school work. Suppose that the law had been observed simply by letting each school select ten per cent of its best pupils for promotion. Then School Sixteen in which no pupil was above average, would still have sent a large group to the higher schools and School Three, in which forty-five per cent of the class were above average, would have been allowed to send only ten per cent. The consequences of the latter form of selection would be obviously unsatisfactory to the secondary schools, unjust to the abler pupils and would make the new educational law on this point abortive in effect.

Although the advantage of selection for the higher schools may be conceded and is usually considered of prime importance, there is another side to the question. The elementary schools fear that their standards are being seriously lowered as the cream of ability is taken away by promoting gifted pupils to secondary and middle schools, leaving only the average and inferior groups in the four upper classes of the elementary division. This outcome of selection was not generally anticipated, and it would be a serious matter if the upper grades of the common school were to be drained of all their best material. Previous to 1918 the elementary school, although the school of the poorer classes, nevertheless had a large number of very capable children in it. Since admission to the secondary schools has been put on a new basis, many of the ablest children leave the elementary school after four years, and the upper part of the *Volksschule* has achieved the distinction of having only *poor* children—children poor in all respects. About the only reason that

any gifted pupils are left in grades five to eight is the extreme poverty and lack of ambition of the parents. There is some doubt as to whether conscious intellectual stratifications are any more desirable than social and economic ones. The teachers in the upper classes of the elementary school are very much disturbed by the present tendency and predict a serious situation when even larger numbers of the abler children transfer to other schools.

Dr. Döring presents evidence to show that there is little cause for alarm on this point, because the actual shift of quality in enrollments has been much exaggerated. In the Lübeck schools, the distribution of pupils in the elementary schools before and after selection was as follows:

Before			*After*		
Poor	Average	Good	Poor	Average	Good
24.8%	50	25.2	27	55	18

A considerable proportion of able pupils and a large average group still remain, so that there seems no reason to expect a marked decline in elementary school standards. One must remember, too, that many of the capable pupils would have transferred to the secondary schools anyway because of the new social order, even without the selective examination. In Germany the danger of a new social stratification along the lines of mental ability is seldom mentioned. Probably this is the case because some such division in the schools and in society appears as a matter of course and a logical necessity to the European mind which has never been really affected by our fetish of complete human equality.

Dr. Döring points out the experimental character of his examination procedure and warns against premature judgment of the selected pupils, whose real capacities can be measured only after years of achievement both in school and life. He closes with a plea for the *School of Activity* where an artificial selective process will no longer be needed, because the ideal school will enable the child to develop his abilities and express his individuality spontaneously in ways that will reveal his intelligence, strength of character and creative power.

A briefer and simpler test has been constructed by Bobertag and Hylla, who describe its use in a manual issued by the Central

Institute for Education and Instruction. They, too, recommend that the selection of elementary school pupils shall be based upon the four sources of information commonly used.

In addition they urge that opportunity be given for elementary school teachers to visit higher classes and for secondary teachers to observe work in the lower schools. This is a practical possibility in many city districts, where certain secondary schools automatically receive the pupils advancing from certain elementary classes, and institutions on the two levels may build up a close affiliation, as happened in Hamburg, where teachers from upper and lower schools met around the conference table to work out the promotions that would best harmonize the needs of individual pupils and the facilities of various higher schools. But other secondary schools may receive a heterogeneous entering class from village schools and town districts, where the population is so mixed that standards lack uniformity and the professional connections are lacking, which would make a conference on promotions profitable.

Therefore, a common means of measurement is needed to insure justice to pupils and schools. Furthermore, a simple tool is required, since it has to be used by numbers of teachers with comparatively little training in psychological research or test technique. The time must be short, for the whole examination procedure—oral and written school examination as well as ability test—should be completed within three or four hours for an entire class and the results announced the same day, so that pupils and parents coming from a distance may be informed of the outcome without delay. To meet these conditions a set of six tests has been tentatively constructed and used with some success, although there are no general standards established as yet. There are five forms of the test, which have been equalized as to difficulty.

In their discussion of the utility of the test Bobertag and Hylla make no exaggerated claims. For the present they are satisfied with results which give the rank of each pupil in the tested group. They make no attempt to arrive at an intelligence quotient by comparing the achievement of individuals with a mental age standard. Like most European educators, they are skeptical of the possibility of measuring intelligence as a whole numerically. The test they have devised certainly has no such aim, but is simply a practical tool for selecting from a particular group the more able and promising

elementary school pupils who appear likely to profit by secondary education. The originators believe that they have succeeded in testing "unlearned" abilities to some extent, rather than knowledges specifically taught by the elementary school and desired by the secondary school.

Hylla and Bobertag acknowledge their indebtedness to American psychologists for suggestions and features they have embodied in this selective examination. Recognizing the general indifference to objective measurement among German educators, they make no effort to secure the adoption of such an examination as an exclusive standard, but they are satisfied to consider it as one essential element of the selective process. They feel that it has a particular value in discussions of marginal cases where the school report, subject matter examination, teacher's recommendation and the observation record are not in clear agreement, and an additional standard, because of its objective nature, may help the responsible authorities to reach a just decision.

They are in sympathy with the intent of the clause in the German Constitution that states selection shall be made for the higher schools, and they are in hearty agreement with the suggestion of the Minister of Education that selective examinations should be carried on only by properly qualified teachers. But that is an ideal of the future, for few German teachers are trained in the technique of experimental psychology and testing. In the meantime, selections of secondary school enrollments must be made annually, and a convenient test form with specific directions can be of real service to educational officials and classroom teachers in carrying out the legal stipulations for the selection of elementary pupils according to ability and transferring them to the secondary schools.

However, such selection of pupils at the age of ten years does not take account of the individual, who may have developed slowly up to that point and yet show superior ability in early adolescence. For such cases another school type, the *Aufbauschule*, newly organized for this and other purposes, does provide a later stage for selection and transfer to the higher schools. At the close of the seventh year of the elementary course, when pupils are thirteen years of age, those who show the ability and desire may be permitted, on the basis of teachers' recommendations and selection tests, to enter the transi-

tion class of the *Aufbauschule* and pursue a course leading to the university.

The examination system permeates German life, for many occupations may be entered only after an examination and all the professions require rigid tests of the candidate's academic and technical preparation. In the university the doctorate examination becomes an important social function. Naturally the schools have their share of tests, but it is smaller than might be supposed, as if educators thought that such ordeals belonged to adult life and not to childhood.

The elementary school is practically free from examinations with three exceptions affecting special groups. Since it is a compulsory school there are no requirements for admission. Children who are patently deficient are tested by psychologists and enrolled in special schools. During the fourth year of the *Grundschule* children who wish to enter a secondary school take the selection examination. In the seventh year of the elementary school there is another test for pupils seeking admission to the *Aufbauschule*. Written examinations during the school year or at the end of the elementary course are practically unknown. Promotion from one grade to another is informal and teachers frequently advance with their classes, so that they feel little need for testing them. Apparently the teacher's estimate of each pupil is based on everyday work, note books, and records kept of the pupil's entire personal development. Sometimes there are brief oral examinations at the end of the year. The theory back of such a system is that a general classroom teacher can know well enough the pupil's ability and performance from daily contact without resorting to an examination which usually reveals nothing new. The German elementary school child is not subjected to the terror-striking written examination so common in this and other countries. In this respect we have much to learn in elementary school practice though the theory is by no means new to us.

The secondary school, however, takes a very different attitude with reference to examinations. At the end of each year's work a pupil is promoted to the next class upon the basis of examinations, class marks, oral tests, and general estimates. These examinations are usually given in the most important subjects. Many schools, however, do not require formal written examinations in the lower classes. Whether a pupil may be promoted or not is decided by a

faculty conference. Since a pupil is promoted by classes rather than by subjects it is possible for him to receive unsatisfactory marks in one or two subjects. In general the mark of "satisfactory," the middle point in a five-point scale, is necessary in all of the required academic subjects. There is, however, a compensation rule operative which allows a pupil to be promoted if he receives "unsatisfactory" in one major subject and "good" in another to offset his weakness in the first field.

The most important examination in the German schools is the leaving or maturity examination held at the close of the secondary school to give evidence of the pupil's arrival at a point in his educational development where he is sufficiently mature to undertake university study. The Prussian plan presents some interesting contrasts in principles with our own College Entrance Board examinations. Instead of being held by a central board as in this country the leaving examination in Prussia is held at the school the candidates have attended and is conducted by the teachers of the senior class, the director of the school and a representative of the state school system as chairman. In other words, the pupil is examined by teachers who know him rather than by readers of examination papers who know little or nothing of his real ability. The examination consists of a written paper, an oral examination and a physical examination. The members of the examining committee are expected to prepare themselves in advance by visiting classes in other subjects than their own, while the director of the school is supposed to have visited senior classes frequently enough to be well acquainted with the ability of the candidates in all their school subjects. Even the state representative is expected to visit the class work of the students he intends to examine. Thus an effort is made to base the final conclusion on more data than the superficial knowledge of a pupil which can be gained from his papers or an oral examination.

Probably the most interesting feature of the examination is the attempt made to test the pupil in his strongest fields, to find out how far he has gone in the things he does best rather than to examine him for weaknesses. In his application for the maturity examination the pupil is expected to state his special subjects, those he will present for examination and his choice of a thesis subject.

The senior thesis is an important part of the examination. The pupil usually selects the subject himself and prepares it at home

with all the aids and materials he desires. The purpose of this thesis is to test his ability to do independent work employing methods of attack customary in scientific investigation and study. Thus the examiners really find out whether the pupil has those abilities which are required of university students. He may select his topic from any subject in the secondary school, usually in connection with the "free activity group" with which he has associated himself during his last years in school.

The teachers of *Oberprima*, the last year of the secondary school, hold a conference about each individual pupil applying for the maturity examination, to determine whether the pupil is to be admitted to the examination. This estimate is not only to cover the pupil's mental development, qualities and character and to certify to his ability to do independent intellectual work, but is to include any and all information that will assist in giving a total picture of the youth, his imaginative qualities, his ability to judge and to initiate, his power to use various forms of expression, his special gifts disclosed either in or out of school, outstanding accomplishments in school work, in his hobbies, in sports or in any form of young people's organizations. In other words, effort is made to present a truthful, well-rounded picture of the youth, rather than to certify that he can do good work in academic subjects. This estimate arrived at in the teachers' conference, together with the report on the pupil's senior thesis and his marks for the last semester form the basis of the decision with reference to the candidate's admission to the maturity examination.

The first part of the formal examination has for its purpose the determination of the pupil's physical efficiency. The examination itself naturally serves only to keep before the pupil the importance of good physical condition. The pupil must keep his body in good trim throughout his secondary school course if he hopes to pass the maturity examination. The physical tests cover gymnastics, sport, games, and dancing for girls. Part of the tests are held in the fall before the other parts of the examination in order to provide good conditions for running, jumping and other forms of light athletics.

The written examination covers four subjects—German and mathematics for all schools and two other subjects, depending upon the type of school: for example, in the *Gymnasium*, one translation each into German from Latin and from Greek; in the *Realgym-*

nasium an examination in English and French; in the *Oberrealschule*, a modern language examination and one in a natural science. The written examinations vary in length from three hours to five and a half hours each. The pupil's own teachers make out the questions for approval by the provincial school board and the papers are marked by the examining committee which is composed largely of the teachers of the graduating class.

The oral examination may cover all the subjects of instruction in the school but it rarely does. The pupil has the privilege of naming his favorite subject or the one in which he wishes to demonstrate his special ability. The oral examinations are not public as they used to be. Ordinarily the examining room contains charts, lexicons, reference books and all sorts of material which the pupil may need in arriving at the correct answers in the oral test. Every effort is made to allow the pupil to show his best side and every measure is adopted which is calculated to put him at his ease before the examiners.

The whole spirit of the examination from the beginning to the end is to give the pupil an opportunity to demonstrate his real ability. Strength in one field is allowed to compensate for a certain degree of weakness in another. All aspects of the pupil's mental, moral and physical life are taken into consideration and no one factor is allowed to outweigh all others.

The most outstanding principle observable in the present German system of record keeping and examination is that any fair estimate of an individual should attempt to evaluate him as a total personality. It is a definitely abandoned notion that the measure of an individual is the sum total of his separate abilities and capacities. German educators hold that an individual is to be understood only as a dynamic unity or a complete personality. A battery of educational and psychological tests is after all only a feeble attempt to describe a few of one's specialized abilities. Granted that these measures be accurate the results might still show the examiner next to nothing about the individual as a human being.

Detailed records covering a long period of observation, study and personal acquaintance have become a very essential part of the German examination scheme, while the short written or oral test is playing a much less important rôle than ever before, since it is recognized that detailed personal data about an individual gathered over a long period by many observers, both teachers and parents, and

school marks and accomplishments covering an eight- or nine-year period are a much safer guide to pupil evaluation than a short written test, where chance is such a great element.

Teachers' judgments, then, are very important factors in the examination scheme. The better German schools keep for each child a folder in which is entered a comprehensive statement of the pupil's mental, social, economic and school history. The pupil's outstanding characteristics are minutely described by his teacher; his best work in the school subjects is preserved; his reactions to his fellows and his family are accounted for; the attainments that reveal his best ability are cited. Such data is as objective as can be obtained. Long-term observation of the complete individual rather than a short-term, subject-matter check has become the measure of ability. Subject-matter examinations more or less formal still have their place in the German schools, but the daily, monthly or yearly achievement of a pupil as observed and recorded by his teachers through many years, is the decisive factor at graduation. Records, of course, are used as much for the teacher's constant guidance in educating the pupil as they are in determining the latter's final standing.

CHAPTER XIX

The New Teacher

"All school reforms stand or fall with the teacher. The best curriculum cannot give him wings; the worst cannot restrict him altogether.

"All school reforms should begin with the selection and education of teachers. Only the teacher can save the school and to him must be given the position and respect which he deserves."—LICHTWARK

BEFORE reviewing the changes that have taken place in Germany with regard to the position of teachers and their professional training, it is well to consider the characteristics of teachers in the old elementary school. They were conscientious, zealous men, consecrated to the work of training patriotic, efficient German citizens. Some were narrow in their outlook upon life and unsympathetic with new points of view. Most of them stood aloof from the pupils as a matter of principle, although many were naturally kind and indulgent. They were faithful in the performance of duty and fired with devotion to the German cause, proud of their responsibility and thoroughly conscious of their importance in the whole scheme of things.

But there were others with a new vision even in the old days. "It was my privilege in 1913 to teach an extension course in Stettin for a group of elementary teachers who were preparing for the maturity examination, which was required of them for entrance to the university, a privilege seldom attained by elementary teachers at that time. After our work was over we usually sat in a garden or café talking over various problems. In the hearts of these men were the seeds of unrest, dissatisfaction with the bonds which restricted them, contempt for the upper classes, and a determination to alter conditions. In other words, there was much beneath the surface which presaged a new order in Germany. The apparent unity among the German people called forth by the war made it seem as if the lower classes were satisfied. In point of fact, there never was real unity among the German people during the war. The cleavage dividing classes had already gone too deep to be healed by the necessity from

without. The united front which outsiders saw was only a truce. Schism in the body politic had its root and counterpart in the schools.

"The secondary school teacher was even more undemocratic than the elementary school teacher in his attitude toward pupils and parents. The secondary school professor was a highly trained university man and an effective instructor, but a man totally out of sympathy with all classes of society, except those of the upper level to which he belonged. Dignity and authority were the two bulwarks of his strength. His dignity was to be preserved at all costs and authority was granted him in full measure.

"A few incidents will throw light on the situation. In the course of my study of German schools before the war, it was necessary to associate with elementary teachers. At that time I was an exchange teacher in a secondary school, a *Realgymnasium* in Pomerania. Then secondary school teachers could not afford to associate with mere elementary school teachers for fear of losing their dignity and social standing. Many secondary school men actually did not know anything about the elementary schools. In the report upon my work, which the director of this school made to the board, he stated that I had violated the amenities by meeting elementary teachers in a social way.

"A similar code of caste distinction and professional dignity kept the teachers from taking a large part in the pupils' affairs and led them to treat the youths in their charge with studied coldness and severity. Without doubt, many secondary school teachers would have liked to be friendly with the boys and girls, but it was not the custom to show any interest or familiarity. I am sure there were exceptions. Some of the finest characters I have ever known were professors in German secondary schools, men of high scholarship and of splendid personal qualities, who took a vital interest in the personal lives of their pupils. But they were exceptional because the system and custom were too strong to be broken. Nothing but praise can be bestowed upon German secondary teachers for their work in establishing high ideals of scholarship for their boys and girls, but they assumed little responsibility for the personal development of their pupils.

"In 1913, just after the Birds of Passage, Young Germans, and Pathfinders first appeared. I was acting as the leader of a group of secondary school lads, and I often took hikes with them or played

games. My colleagues were greatly distressed over my loss of dignity when I tumbled and wrestled with the boys. Some of the teachers could not understand why I walked every day with the upper classmen, joined in their chess tournaments and went with them to cafés and restaurants. It simply was not being done then, but being from America and Missouri, I really did not know at first that I should not associate with my own pupils."

To-day one of the most far-reaching changes in German schools is the shift teachers have made from an attitude of authority to one of comradeship. The humanizing of teacher-pupil relations has made possible the more rapid and complete spread of reform practices. The *Activity School* would be a travesty without sympathetic and liberal-minded teachers. The Community School depends wholly upon a faculty of teachers believing in social control. School journeys and country homes would become mockeries of their ideals unless teachers became real comrades to the pupils in their wanderings. All the new schools depend upon the teacher—not as an official, but as a personality—balanced, firm and independent in character.

The determination to weed out the evil aspects of the old school is particularly marked among those who had rebelled bitterly against the restrictions of their own school life. The will to shape a happier school world for this generation of pupils is especially strong in men who had fought through the war and returned to find their own lives blighted by its outcome and the future of many children darkened by its shadows. Such teachers are somewhat impatient when their reforms and experiments are measured by the usual educational standards. With fierce scorn of all pedagogical quibbles, they say, "What does it matter whether our pupils learn this or that, so long as they have a chance to live fully in the brief days of childhood and youth? At best it is a short time for storing up sources of enjoyment to make more bearable the long years to come that will be hard enough for every German." They are determined to prove untrue the words of an Englishman after the war, "It is tragic to be born a German child."

German school reforms have come about largely through the efforts of the teachers themselves. For years there had been marked dissatisfaction among elementary school teachers, who objected to their restricted position as lower class educators, bound by official

decrees and compelled to treat their pupils with almost military severity. Many teachers welcomed the revolution because it offered them the possibility of creating a better school world for children and themselves.

Power fell into the hands of the teachers because of the changed position of the faculty of the elementary school. Before the revolution the schools were under the leadership of a principal, who was the superior officer of all the teachers and responsible to no one but the State. To-day in the new faculty, each stands as an equal among his peers and as a coöperative member in a new type of school administration where all are mutually responsible. The principal of the new elementary school in Prussia is no longer the superior officer of the teachers. He is merely the one chosen to execute their decisions on matters of school policy, courses of study, programs, discipline and like matters. This new administrative principle has done much to release the best energies of the teaching staffs and to call forth the utmost effort of every teacher. Just as the child in school has been freed from restraint and petty supervision by the teacher, so the teacher has been relieved of the burden of minute regulations and the petty interference of supervising officers. The comparatively slight need for supervision in German schools is due to the fact that all schools, even in the rural districts, are staffed with mature men, thoroughly trained and rich in general knowledge as well as in professional experience.

For American readers who are accustomed to a teaching profession largely made up of women, it may be well to emphasize the fact that seventy-five per cent of the elementary school teachers of Germany are men and in rural schools women are rarely found. In the boys' secondary schools practically all teachers are men, while in the girls' secondary schools at least half of the teachers are women. Obviously the predominance of masculine teachers makes for permanence in the profession and permanence usually means more thorough preparation, wider experience and greater interest in professional problems. It is natural also to expect that the aggressiveness and vitality of men would lead them to throw themselves into a struggle, like that for school reform, with more force than could be expected of a similar group of women.

It would be unfair to draw comparisons between American and German teachers entirely on the basis of sex, for other factors have

operated to draw a more capable type of man into the German schools than is usually found among American educators. Teaching has been a profession commanding considerable respect in Germany because the teacher is a state official with definite privileges, permanent tenure and a secure pension. Business opportunities are much more restricted in Germany than in the United States, so that the inducement of money-making draws comparatively few men teachers into industrial enterprises.

The fact that men of ability are chosen to teach in German schools has given stability and seriousness to recent educational discussions in the eyes of the public, as well as in the opinion of the teachers themselves. For example, the efforts made to beautify the schoolrooms, making them more like homes for the children, cannot be derided as effeminate. Nor can the emphasis given to "freedom, love and trust" be set down as feminine sentimentality. Since men as classroom teachers are found in every level of the German schools, even in many primary classes, there is a tendency to treat with equal seriousness the problems that arise at all levels. Educational writings are abundant and are frequently the statement of theories or observations drawn directly from the classroom. Critics are merciless and arguments are prolonged to a degree seldom reached by women in the profession.

The teachers were neither hindered nor helped greatly in their work for reform by the supervisors, because the latter are relatively inconspicuous in German school systems as compared with the part they take in American education to-day. In Germany it is assumed that the class teacher is well trained before he is installed in his position, while the United States still has the problem of giving in-service training through supervision to many inadequately prepared teachers. The German schoolmaster becomes a king in his classroom and expects little advice or supervision, except on minor matters of administrative detail.

The shift from control of a large public school by the principal to control of the school by the staff could be accomplished fairly easily in Germany, because it was only a question of substituting one kind of authority for another. Administrative affairs of an external nature have for generations been regulated by orders sent out by the ministries. The internal policies and procedures have been determined mainly by the elementary principal and the staff,

but the final decision rested with the principal. When the reorganization came the sole change necessary was to place upon the staff the major responsibility for the internal affairs of the school, with the principal as the executive officer. The success with which school staffs carried out their own plans for reform is due very largely to the fact that the men who led the school revolution had a clear understanding of the political and social issues involved. They were not easily intimidated by the official school authorities and they did not find it difficult to secure the support of a considerable group of parents and citizens. Their experience in practical and financial affairs was of great value when they undertook to expand the function of the schools by adding shops, studios, gardens and country homes to the lay-out of the new institutions. Their physical vigor was needed in undertaking school journeys, club-work and evening classes for adults, in addition to the regular teaching load.

Before all, their courage in idealism and belligerence in conflict were needed at every step of the way, because school reforms had to be fought for with zeal and dogged persistence. In spite of defeats and misrepresentation, the leaders in Germany's school revolution held to their course, for they saw a rare opportunity to bring about the changes of which they had dreamed for years. With the affairs of the nation in flux and the structure of the nation shattered, they seized the chance to rebuild educational institutions that would train boys and girls for life in a democracy. They were eager to use their own ideas in remaking the conditions under which they worked. In their conception of democracy applied to the schools, they believed that freedom which was good for children was also good for teachers. In demanding their own rights, they welcomed new responsibilities and valiantly shouldered greater tasks than the schools of the empire had exacted of them.

Many of the leading educators in Germany's school reform had been inspired by the Youth Movement and they were true to its spirit when they set up for themselves first of all a new ideal of the teacher. By their standard the new teacher must be a real person, with capacity for comradeship as well as leadership. He must be a human being, himself filled with *joi de vivre,* with delight in nature and art, with sympathy for childhood and youth, with some practical skill, and with understanding of social problems. He must be something of a sportsman, an explorer, an artist, a craftsman,

a story-teller and a good fellow. He must feel toward his pupils the good-natured interest of a bachelor uncle or the devotion of a father. His control of the pupils must not depend upon their submission to his authority, but it should rest upon mutual love, respect and trust.

Fear has been driven out of the classroom, not because corporal punishment disappeared, as it did long before the new schools were established, but because a real spirit of coöperation has taken the place of that state of silent warfare which has existed between school boys and school masters since time immemorial. With the social spirit which is entering into school life in Germany to-day, it is almost inconceivable that pupils would try to annoy, deceive or defy their teachers in earnest. Before the revolution fear held them back from flagrant misbehavior. The teacher was too awesome a figure as he frowned down from his high desk, the official embodiment of that omnipotent force, the German Empire, which cast its shadow over home and school, as well as town and province. Now group feeling has become a bond that makes willful disloyalty to the teacher as serious a crime as infidelity to the gang. Either slip may occur, but neither offense needs an additional penalty, for the culprit suffers inward conviction of his guilt as an offender against youth's own code of honor. The old school was a battlefield, with most of the odds in the teacher's favor. The new school is becoming a partnership with labor and reward equally shared between schoolmaster and pupil.

To be sure, the ideal new teacher is not found everywhere as yet. It would be a metamorphosis beyond the wildest dreams of educational reformers, if the severe Prussian drillmaster had been transformed within one decade into the paragon of a pedagogue, which the new school desires. But the change is in progress. Occasionally one may still enter a classroom to hear a harsh voice rasping out commands like the snap of a whip, or see a teacher with military bearing striding up and down before a class of nervous boys who simulate attentiveness under the sharp eye that seems not to discern the distinction between outward compliance and inward rebellion. Usually, however, one may go from school to school and room to room, hearing only kindly words and seeing fearless children, who behave naturally toward a teacher who sits among them as a comrade, exerting no unwarranted pressure as the group com-

bines its effort on a common problem or scatters to individual tasks. Sincerity is the hallmark of the new relationship between teacher and pupil in the new schools of Germany.

Again we must be careful not to assume that this friendly attitude is entirely new, for there were undoubtedly many men and women in German schools before the war, who let their humanitarian interest in boys and girls modify the formalism of their position as state officials, charged with the duty of training loyal subjects. Germany's eminence as a land of folk tales and nursery rhymes, marionettes and toys has always revealed her as a nation of people who love and understand children. The intimacies of family life continually give witness to this deep-rooted trait. But it was not allowed to creep far into the school for, when the child entered these institutions of the government, he ceased to belong altogether to his family. He was expected to "put away childish things" and to occupy himself with his serious duties as a potential subject, soldier or official.

We often speak of the separation of church and state in modern times, and it might equally well be said that the essential spirit of reform in Germany's school system is due to a wider degree of separation between state and school. Only when teachers are allowed to put their professional and personal relation to pupils before their responsibility to the government can they feel free to follow the principles of educational practice and social intercourse, which correspond with their honest conviction about the school's true purpose and childhood's real needs.

The view is often held that teachers of the new type tend to discover and develop themselves. True teachers can easily be discovered and developed in the Community School, for the life there affords rich opportunities for unfolding and exercising qualities of leadership and understanding—a thing impossible in the old school. A group of teachers or an individual can go far alone, if they really see the manifold opportunities in school life, which have been opened to all by the social revolution, by reform legislation, by educational experiments and profuse writings. One may see the new path and desire to follow it, yet find the old habits too firmly fixed or the new ways too strange. Re-education of the teacher in service and a new type of training for the student of education are two necessities arising along with the school reform.

Therefore, the problem of teacher training is a major problem of the new school and it has not been underestimated or neglected. Germans believe passionately in the importance and sanctity of the teaching profession. They may differ among themselves as to the method of teacher preparation, but all agree upon the absolute necessity of highly trained, able, consecrated teachers to carry forward the work of the schools.

Immediately after the revolution, dissatisfaction with the old schools came to a crisis. The teacher had been the chief instrument of the ruling powers for training submissive, efficient citizens. Teachers were selected for their orthodoxy, which was the result of the stereotyped training given in the pre-war normal schools. These institutions had turned out teachers drilled in detail on the same subjects they were to teach their pupils. There was no place for initiative, spontaneity or incidental digressions in such a system. The teachers were to instruct the youth of a land where freedom of thought and belief for the lower classes was discouraged. Therefore, students in the normal schools had to be trained rather than given a liberal education. They were prepared to meet standardized situations in a standardized way.

Everything taught in the training school bore directly upon the future job. The subjects of the elementary school curriculum, somewhat expanded, formed the subjects of the normal school curriculum. Students between the ages of fourteen and twenty were segregated in this narrow professional atmosphere and they inevitably became teachers who were followers, limited in outlook, accustomed to routine and hostile to progress. The fundamental weaknesses of the normal schools were recognized by teachers trained in them and their protests were heard when the day for school reform came.

With one stroke the whole German normal school organization was swept away as leaders in the republic recognized that a higher type of national citizenship could be molded only by teachers of wider and fundamentally different training. This was a reaffirmation of German belief in the potency of education.

By federal constitutional provision all elementary teachers in Germany are to be trained hereafter at institutions of university rank. The new elementary teacher is to be developed in the atmosphere of intellectual freedom, rather than in that of intellectual slavery. He is recognized as an individual who can think and who

is to be permitted to think constructively for his people. He is to be chosen and developed as the educator and guide, the intellectual and spiritual leader of community life. It was realized that the tremendous human resources and energy slumbering in the great masses could be unleashed only by a folk educator, one of great spiritual and emotional power, one of sound scientific training, one who could discover and develop the resources within the province of his work. This Folk Educator could no longer be a mere artisan, skilled in the tricks and devices of classroom instruction. He must rather be a resourceful, well trained scholar having also those qualities of personality and human sympathy necessary for this, the most important of all tasks.

There has been no other country in the history of the world that has increased standards of teacher training to such a high point and in such a decisive, rapid fashion. Now each student in Germany desiring to prepare for elementary teaching, must be a graduate of a secondary school, which corresponds to completion of at least one year of a good liberal arts college in the United States. In other words, entrance to professional training for elementary teaching is restricted to those who have had thirteen years of general education. The constitutional provision for university training has been variously interpreted, but in general two types of plans have thus far evolved, the one found in Prussia and the other followed in Hamburg, Hesse, Saxony, Thuringia and a few other states. Prussia has established independent teachers colleges, while the other states have incorporated the training of teachers in existing universities or in schools of education in some way affiliated with them. The reasons for this differentiation in plans are partly practical, partly theoretical and partly economic.

The Prussian teachers college, *Pädagogische Akademie,* is a two-year institution built upon a secondary school. It is a professional school and is not an institution for general education although the curriculum is comprehensive. Every course is related to the problems of the elementary teacher. It thus avoids the confusion of purpose found in the American teachers college, where the conflict between academic and professional groups in the faculty is a common condition, which was also found in the old Prussian normal school. The new institutions now being established are not only to

serve for the development of folk educators and leaders, but they are also to be centers that will foster German culture.

The method of instruction in the Prussian teachers college is that of the university. The recitation of the old normal school and the drill upon the content and method of elementary school subjects have given way to the lecture, discussion, practicum and seminar of the university. The new teacher is not expected to be a standardized product, but an individual soundly educated and well trained to meet new situations skillfully and solve them. The moral effect of this change of method in training the young teacher is sure to react in like manner upon his pupils. His right to learn and to teach the truth as he sees it, is not to be violated. Before the war the elementary teachers were not trained to these ends for they were then regarded as the mouth-pieces of the government.

The curriculum of the new teachers college is built around an analysis of the new elementary school. Naturally the new school will call for wider knowledge, greater skill, deeper insight into philosophical, social and psychological problems than did the old school. The new school, a school of activity, a community school, a school of the inquiring and creative child, demands a teacher more liberally educated, more flexible in his point of view, and better able to adapt himself to unaccustomed situations than was the teacher of the old school.

Probably the greatest change in the German teacher is his new attitude toward children and probably the greatest change in the teacher training institutions of Prussia is the friendly relation that exists now between the faculty members and student body. The old relationship of authority on one side and respect on the other, has given way to new bonds of natural comradeship formed through intimate personal acquaintance, as teachers and students work and play together. The curriculum of the Prussian teachers college does not include merely the topics in the various courses, but it embraces all of the contacts which are afforded the young teacher as a member of a community inspired by a common purpose. His method of work and mode of life are of equal importance with the content of the fields which he studies.

The curriculum of the Prussian teachers college is largely prescribed and attendance at seminars and lectures is compulsory. Stu-

dent secret societies are forbidden. In these respects the Prussian institution differs from the German university and from the elementary training schools affiliated with universities. The Prussian teachers college offers only a two-year course, while the university centers have three. In all probability the Prussian teachers college will be modified in many respects, since it is now definitely declared to be in the experimental stage.

The university training centers, such as exist at Hamburg, Jena, Dresden and Leipzig, carry on their work in much the same manner as do the Prussian teachers colleges, but the course is extended by requiring some academic electives and the method of scientific work is more strongly emphasized. The students have more freedom than in the Prussian schools but the relationship of faculty and student body is more formal. The curriculum is less well adapted to the needs of the elementary teacher and the students are in a more conservative atmosphere, little in sympathy with teacher training or with the interests of the lower classes.

The effectiveness of any teacher training course is largely dependent upon the way students are introduced to the practical work of teaching. The amount and kind of experience they gain under supervision conditions their attitude toward the profession and their skill in using teaching techniques.

The German teachers colleges and university institutes of education vary as to the details of their plans, but certain general procedures characterize the work of student teachers now, whether they are being trained in Prussia, Hamburg, Dresden, Jena or Leipzig. Throughout the course, each student is in close contact with children and with school situations. A comprehensive program of observation, experiments and participation begins in the elementary school attached to or affiliated with the training institution.

In Dresden the institute school is staffed by teachers who are also lecturers, so that it serves them as a laboratory and demonstrates to their own students the theories presented in lectures and seminars. The institute school in Hamburg is directed by a professor, but staffed by public school teachers, who are relieved of six hours' work weekly in order to take part in conferences with students and professors. In Jena the institute school is primarily a laboratory where the director of the institute carries on experiments related to the discussions he conducts as a professor at the university. The staff is

composed of superior teachers, who are neither lecturers nor supervisors, but whose chief concern is the study of children's needs and the creation of situations which nurture childhood interests. Students observe in this school, but they do not practice there. Leipzig has a public school connected with the institute. Regular teachers are in charge of some classes, but others are taken over by university lecturers who have a definite weekly schedule for demonstration teaching, when their students are present to observe and participate in activities.

Besides observing in the institute schools, students also visit many public school teachers who are doing outstanding work. Later a student may choose one of these classes for his intensive period of practice teaching. Hamburg plans to have fifty selected schoolrooms ready to receive student observers and the teachers free at intervals to attend those university seminars where the work of their classes will be discussed. Thus guidance in observation and discussion for students goes hand in hand with the professional growth of experienced teachers.

Observation is not limited to the elementary schools. Groups of students visit welfare centers, secondary schools, orphan asylums, day nurseries, kindergartens, playgrounds, garden centers, forest schools, vocational institutions, hostels, *Schullandheime*, clinics and experimental schools, in order to extend their knowledge of the many agencies concerned with childhood and youth, and to understand something about the complicated administrative structure which sustains national education.

The preliminary period of acquaintance with school situations is followed by definite practice teaching. Some students begin their teaching after the first or second semester, but the majority wait until the second or third year. The schedule is flexible and depends upon the abilities and wishes of individuals. No attempt is made to have all the members of a class go to the schools on the same day to begin their apprenticeship. Each student has considerable freedom to choose his own school and supervising teacher. He may remain in the city where he is studying or go elsewhere if he can make the arrangement and secure the approval of his adviser. During his practical teaching experience the student is not closely supervised by the university, but he is entrusted to the teacher with whom he is to work.

Frequently the practice period occurs during the academic vacations, in May, April, August, September and October, when the student devotes his entire time for sixteen weeks to elementary school work. This enables him to participate fully in the life of the school, in professional organizations and in the activities of the community. Thus, at the same time that he is inducted into his work as an instructor, he is gaining a realization of the moving force teachers can become in local and national affairs.

At the close of the teacher training course, whether it be taken at a university or a teachers college, the student presents himself for the first examination, which qualifies him to serve as an assistant teacher in the public elementary schools. During the following year he is nominally an assistant, although he may serve as a full time teacher in charge of a class. After this probationary period he is expected to pass a second examination before he is eligible for a permanent appointment. Years may pass, however, before he is finally placed.

The present surplus of elementary teachers and decline of lower school enrollments have brought the discouragement of unemployment or temporary positions to thousands of young teachers. Many continue their training while waiting for appointment. Others find places in the extended field of welfare work. The low demand is one reason that Prussian teachers colleges can limit their enrollments to 260 students and supply the state with teachers more intensively trained than those that come from American institutions forced to handle thousands.

While all training of elementary teachers is at present avowedly upon an experimental basis a backward step will never be taken. The requirements will be increased rather than decreased. Every elementary school in Germany will shortly have teachers with training equivalent to a bachelor's or master's degree. Such is Germany's challenge to her rivals.

Practically all that has been said thus far with reference to teacher training has to do with elementary teachers. The secondary school teacher is trained now as he has been for the past forty years. This is true in so far as the outward form of his training has not changed. The preparation of the secondary school teacher includes graduation from a secondary school, which is the equivalent of two years in an

American college; four years of university study, and more often five or six years devoted to work in philosophy and three academic fields; a state academic examination; two years of practice teaching and related professional study, and finally a pedagogical examination. At twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age the student has completed his training and is qualified for appointment. Formerly it was not unusual to wait five years for a permanent position, but with the increase of secondary school enrollments recently there has been a decrease in this period of waiting.

Only one or two items of change in the preparation of secondary teachers are worthy of notice. Heretofore during the period of academic study, little or no attention was paid to pedagogic training. This period was devoted exclusively to the subject matter the candidate was expected to teach. Recently, however, in Saxony the future secondary teacher has been required to participate in an educational seminar during his stay at the university. This indicates that there is doubt as to the soundness of pursuing academic study long with little or no professional interest.

There is danger of becoming an academician rather than a teacher. In Prussia an innovation just introduced permits, but does not require, the candidate after two years in the university to select a secondary school and spend several months visiting and assisting in order to determine whether he would like the profession of teaching after he has observed school life from the teacher's point of view. During this period he is under the supervision of the director and he confers with the faculty, trying to arrive at a conclusion as to his professional career.

There is little change to note in the preparation of secondary teachers because the training was already upon a highly satisfactory basis as far as its form and organization were concerned, and much less adjustment was necessary than in the case of the elementary teacher. Both the academic and professional elements of preparation for a teacher's work were adequate. Reforms in the field of secondary teacher training will scarcely come soon.

It would be entirely wrong, however, to assume that the secondary teacher has not been affected by the educational reform. A change in attitude in the secondary teacher usually comes by contact within professional groups. The young teaching candidate, steeped as he

may be in academic lore and scholarship, takes on immediately the educational point of view that is current at the time he does his interneship in the secondary school.

While there are few experimental schools of secondary rank in Germany, those in existence have exerted tremendous influence upon the whole life and organization of the secondary schools. It would be folly to deny a rapidly changing educational point of view in secondary schools, which in recent years show such modifications in curriculum and method as these: the *Aufbauschule*, the *Deutsche Oberschule*, the *Frauenschule*, the *Werkoberschule*, activity instruction in practically all subjects, new courses of study in virtually every state, school excursions and journeys, exchange of pupils between secondary schools, modification of the leaving examination, avocation instruction, use of the radio in modern foreign language and civics instruction, parents' associations first begun in secondary schools, student organizations and freer contact between teacher and pupil. Into such a changed situation come young candidates from the university to find schools seething with reforms. At once the novice is stamped with the impress of the most recent and stimulating discussions he hears from the faculty and reads in professional journals. In fact it is much easier for him to comprehend educational movements while at work in the school than while studying at the university.

The new regulations governing the assignment of secondary school candidates for their two years of preparatory teaching suggest that the total spirit of the school and the personality of the director be taken into consideration, as well as the scholarship and capability of the subject matter teachers. The student and his advisers chose the school situation and the supervising teacher that seem to offer favorable conditions for practice. The student follows the master as in the Middle Ages instead of completing his training at a single institution.

Teaching candidates may spend the first practice year in a six-year secondary school, but the second year of apprenticeship must always be passed in a nine-year school. Occasionally both years are spent in a single institution to insure continuity of experience, or the candidate may be placed in a school with a boarding department, where he becomes acquainted with the manifold problems of adolescent education. There may be only one teaching candidate to a school

the first year, but it is customary to assign second year probationers in groups of five or six to a school. Thus, in addition to faculty meetings and individual conferences with the supervising professor, each student can join his comrades in those informal discussions which constitute such an important part of university life and are doubly valuable to the professional novice.

The in-service training of teachers in Germany has taken on great importance. Previously, when the teacher was finally appointed, his training was at an end, but that day seems forever past. There is one significant difference, however, between training-in-service in America and in Germany. Here too frequently the basic training is given during service because of inadequate preparation beforehand. In Germany, the basic training always precedes service.

Formerly the elementary teacher in Prussia and in many other German states was not qualified for final appointment until at least two years of experience had been acquired, concluded by an examination covering both the study the teacher had carried on after leaving normal school and the experience he had gathered in a practical way. In Bavaria the young teachers were called together for short courses under their supervisors to deal with important educational problems of a practical nature. But there was no returning to the normal school for courses or continuing education elsewhere to improve the teacher in his position.

There were many elementary teachers, however, who studied at the university or privately to prepare for teaching in another sort of school or for a supervisorship. Elementary teachers were admitted to the university with restrictions for a long time before 1919. Up to that time they were required to pass the maturity examination of the secondary school in order to be admitted to all faculties. After 1919 they could be admitted to the faculty of philosophy and pedagogy on the basis of their normal school leaving certificate.

In Prussia in recent years the teachers' activity groups organized under state supervision have played an important rôle in the re-education and further education of the elementary teacher. An activity group may be organized by a number of teachers in a given district to pursue the study of some special or general problem. When the group has organized itself, they choose their own leader or the state authorities appoint a teacher to conduct the course over a period of one or two years. These groups have been exceedingly

numerous and successful. They have contributed very largely to the introduction of reform measures in the schools. So important are they considered that a young teacher who had passed his first examination at the normal school could be excused from the second examination if he could show two years of successful participation in the work of an activity group. In a sense one might say that every teacher in Germany already had a period of in-service training, since there is a probationary period before final appointment during which the young teacher is studying under state supervision for the second teachers' examination.

The *Institute of In-Service Training for Teachers* in Hamburg is an interesting departure in this field. It serves teachers both from the elementary and the secondary school, though primarily the former. Its courses are free to the teachers of Hamburg. The lectures and seminars offered cover a wide range of interests including elementary school theory, subject matter and method of local geography, German, foreign languages, history, religion, world geography, music, drawing, mathematics, natural science, manual training, sewing, physical training, courses for secondary school teaching candidates and for women teachers in art, physical education, cooking, sewing and manual training. More than ninety courses were offered in 1927-1928 and they were well attended. This is somewhat unusual when one thinks that the teachers studying received no higher remuneration, nor are they looking for entrance into another type of teaching. No one, except the young teaching candidate during his period of probation, is required to attend. The only explanation is the high degree of professional spirit which continually urges German teachers on to better preparation for their work.

Universities and institutes of all sorts offer courses in the late afternoons and evenings for the benefit of teachers, most of whom are already appointed and have no special occasion to pursue further work except for fine professional reasons. One of the best examples of the work done by an institute is that carried on by the *Zentral Institut für Erziehung und Unterricht*, a semi-official organization founded chiefly to promote new educational theories of whatsoever form and to serve as a clearing house for experiments. Its activities cover a wide range. It calls conferences of nation-wide scope to discuss important educational problems, and organizes lecture courses

and seminars for teachers who wish to further their own training. It arranges educational tours for Germans within and without their own country. In 1928 one group of twenty-five educators went to the United States and others to Russia and Finland. It introduces foreign visitors to the types of schools they wish to see. In the summer of 1929 a group of twenty-five American educators visited outstanding centers of educational experiment in Germany. It publishes intelligence test material and organizes exhibits of German and foreign textbooks. It arranges conferences on new educational problems in various centers throughout the whole country. It publishes an educational magazine of first rank and many important books and reports on types of schools and educational undertakings. It conducts short summer courses in arts and sciences. It issues lists of acceptable films for schools. The headquarters are in Berlin, but there are several smaller branches in other Prussian cities. The work of this organization has had far-reaching influence, both at home and abroad and its effect as a teacher training agency is incalculable.

The most frequent and unique type of training-in-service is the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, the teachers' "activity group" or study club. There are literally hundreds of these groups organized by schools, institutes, teachers' associations, public school faculties and the like. The groups are usually self-formed and the subjects of study are as varied as knowledge itself. The essential feature of most of these groups is that they are *working* groups rather than listening groups. Thus the problem of professional reëducation has been taken over by the teachers themselves in many cases. They form voluntary study groups which meet regularly for discussion of actual experiments, for reports on educational publications and for exchange of experiences. Some of them map out very definite courses of lectures and readings in order to train themselves in particular teaching techniques or subject matter fields that seemed indispensable to success in the new schools. Others follow a line of study that aims at self-development in a broader sense—cultivation of music, literature, crafts, or sports. Many groups undertake excursions for themselves, after the manner of those carried on for their pupils, and they set similar objectives—the study of a geographical region, visits to historical shrines or wandering for the sheer zest of adventure and physical recreation.

The achievements of such self-formed groups of active teachers

have made no slight contribution to the success of the school reform and the progress of outstanding experimental schools. Work on tests by one such group in Lübeck has been described in the chapter on examinations. Other teachers in the same city have published excellent studies of the surrounding country, wherein much data on physical features and local history is made easily available to teachers and pupils. In almost every school system are found textbooks that are the work of the teaching staff who found no books that fitted their new needs and have created their own. Equally noteworthy is the work of particular groups in child psychology. The Leipzig Teachers' Association has formulated an excellent case study record for school pupils. Many experimental schools publish journals or year books regularly.

Every Community School owes its development to the coöperative effort of a group of teachers who devoted themselves to a cause with their whole souls and who knew how to merge their individual preferences in labor for the good of the school. As pioneers these teachers had to work unceasingly upon problems that were new and baffling. In the early years of each venture, the struggle was all the more difficult because both children and adults were under the burden of want and ill health. The most ordinary material necessities were often lacking—food, clothing and fuel, not to mention schoolroom equipment and pupils' supplies, which were classed almost as luxuries. Such faculty groups as those in the Hamburg Community School, *Berliner Tor* and in the experimental schools of Bremen, give evidence of their professional unity and thoroughness, when one reads the reports of the educational commissions which were sent out to examine them and to find out whether these radical educators were really wasting the time of their pupils and the funds of the city, as their enemies reported. That the vanguard schools survived such investigations and even won commendation is solely due to the men and women who had grounded their new ideals in effective practice, so that they could present evidence that was convincing even to the unsympathetic eye of the school inspector, who may have hoped for a return to past methods.

The renown of Hamburg as a center of educational experiment and reform is undoubtedly due to the strong organization of teachers there, which has maintained an existence independent of the official board of education for more than a century. This association is called

the "Society of Friends of Educational Affairs in the Fatherland." The first part of their title sometimes causes the organization to be confused with the Quakers, who carried on such splendid welfare work in Germany during and after the war, but seldom entered directly into school matters. The Hamburg "Society of Friends of Education" is a voluntary professional organization, exemplifying the free spirit of the Hanseatic league, which still flares up during critical times in Northern and Western Germany. Near the university in Hamburg there stands a library which is the property of the "Friends of Education." Here there are conference rooms, offices of the management, an extensive reference department and a well-used loan collection. Everything represents the coöperative effort of the teachers themselves. They even take turns acting as librarians at the loan desk, serving somewhat inefficiently in this capacity but with good nature and great pride. The association has published its own journal for more than half a century and the files give a record, not only of educational developments in Hamburg but throughout Germany, with many sidelights on other countries as well. With the coming of the revolution and the onset of the school reform with peculiar force in Hamburg, this journal became one of the most effective agencies for disseminating accurate information about the real purposes and practices of the experimental schools. The association grew into an important center for professional education as it arranged lectures, excursions and conferences. It kept teachers supplied with the rapidly increasing literature on the new school and sponsored the publication of several interesting books for children.

There are innumerable local, state and independent organizations of teachers. Americans familiar with the work of the New Education Fellowship and those who have heard Dr. Elizabeth Rotten speak in this country, know that she represents the German branch of that international association. She is also one of the editors of *"Das Werdende Zeitalter,"* the German edition of *The New Era,* an English journal, which corresponds to the American quarterly, *Progressive Education.*

The *Bund der Entschiedene Schulreformer,* established by Paul Ostereich, is an equally radical teachers' organization, especially interested in secondary schools. One of its members, Dr. Otto Tacke of Stettin, was the only German educator at the 1927 World Conference on Education in Toronto. Such organizations take an active

part in re-educating the public, as well as the teaching profession, to a more favorable attitude and fuller understanding of the New Education in Germany.

Teachers' conventions also serve to give intensive in-service training, because they generally bring together small groups with a common interest and programs are so arranged as actually to increase the knowledge of the teachers in attendance, as well as to illustrate new classroom methods. A meeting of this type held at Lübeck in 1926 brought together a hundred geographers for a brief regional study of northwestern Germany, in order that the teachers might return to their own classes better prepared to give instruction on the physical, industrial and historical features of that section of the country.

The program was built around three centers—demonstration classes in geography in the Lübeck schools, trips to points of interest in the city and its environs and lectures or informal discussions. The demonstrations were planned to illustrate the principle of instruction through activities. The trips were arranged to acquaint visitors with the characteristics of the North-German terrain and the life of the inhabitants. The talks touched on the social value of geography in the modern curriculum, and gave further opportunity for discussing the first-hand experience of the teachers who had watched demonstration classes at work and who had made field trips through the region.

The demonstration groups represented all types of schools with elementary, middle and secondary classes of different ages gathered into a single large building. Classroom doors were open, so that observers might come and go at will, and the independent activity of the pupils left the teachers free much of the time to explain the work to visitors and to answer questions. A complete exhibit of school work in another building where lectures were held served to supplement the demonstrations.

One middle school class of thirteen-year-old boys was making clay models of the Scandinavian peninsula, enlarging atlas maps to get accurate proportions and referring to the wall map for details. Secondary school boys were constructing with wire, wood and clay some crude models to show the relations of earth, sun and moon, so that the changing of the seasons, the boundaries of the zones, the

phenomenon of eclipse and the divisions of time into year, month and day were made more vivid. Many fundamental geographical concepts were clarified by each pupil's efforts to see the facts objectively and to represent them approximately.

Another group of forty boys and girls from the fourth grade of an elementary school were presenting a study of their own city. They had listed the street names and were classifying them rapidly in two main groups—those called after the workers who had formerly lived on certain streets, the weavers, bell molders, cobblers or fishermen; and those named for poets, soldiers, statesmen and other cities. The discussion revealed the thorough knowledge these children had gained about the old town in which they lived as they took many walks through its streets with their own teacher and came back to the classroom to read the map and to make simple diagrams and sand table models of places that held their attention. Their note books were filled with drawings and brief stories of these excursions.

A group of ten-year-olds from the *Oberrealschule* was studying map symbols, using a map of the Lübeck state, where particular marks were used for moor, forest, heath, hill, canal, rivers, sea, bridge, footpath, highway and village. As the boys discovered each new symbol they tried to identify the place it occupied on the map from memory of their wanderings over that region and thus the class together discovered the significance of all the symbols, working independently of the teacher.

Sixteen-year-old boys from the *Realgymnasium* were giving brief oral reports on the characteristic forms of vegetation in different climatic zones. The talks were based on reference reading and were accompanied by pictures projected with the reflectoscope. Each report was followed by lively comments from the boys and the teacher.

A class of middle school girls of the same age was studying the Weser valley with a view to making a week's trip into the region. Working by twos on maps and time-tables they planned their itinerary and calculated the time and cost involved. Then the teacher discussed with them the physical formation of the river valley, how earthquakes had tilted the original strata into hills, where the Rhine and the Weser had probably flowed earlier and what topographical changes had occurred in later years. The girls used their note books

to record facts and sketch diagrams. Pictures made clearer certain features of the landscape and a few pupils who had travelled in the region reported their observations.

An upper elementary class from the Community School had made an elaborate study of the Brazilian jungle, inspired by the tales their teacher had told of his experiences in South America. The pupils' imagination had been caught by the contrasts of life in a tropical climate. They had made large maps and pictures of the country, depicting jungle conditions with vividness, and they talked freely about the people and animals found in Brazil. The emigration of Germans to South America and the value of commercial connections were fully discussed.

Middle school boys were constructing models of Chinese houses with great precision. Sketches and notes showed that they had gone to reliable sources to be sure that small details were correct. Their skillful use of tools and the exact plans at hand enabled them to work alone while the manual training instructor gave all his time to visitors.

Another class from a middle school was making a short trip through three streets in the neighborhood, accompanied by their own teacher and a special instructor in geography. Individual pupils had chosen such topics as these for special observation and report—roofs, doorways, windows, courtyards, advertisements and occupations. In the old part of the city every building tells the story of the past by the lines of its structure and the symbols of the guilds. The boys walked on slowly, pointing out distinctive features and asking questions of their guides, or they scattered to sketch details that seemed to them important.

The visitor wandering through this school, watching fourteen classes at work, caught a kaleidoscopic view of the new methods of studying geography which have found favor in Germany. Within two hours the many teachers observing school classes actually at work gained fuller understanding of the principle, called *activity instruction,* than they could have gained from a course of lectures or a dozen books of theory. Then they were invited to apply the same principle of self-activity to their own study of the locality. Under expert guidance they visited the historical centers of the city —churches, city hall, museums and patrician mansions. They sat at supper in a coffee house filled with ship models and still known as

the Mariners' Club, although Lübeck has long since lost its place as an important port, since trade has turned to the Atlantic instead of the Baltic.

The geographers went by motorboat up the Elbe-Trave canal and down the Trave River to see the natural features that give the city a good harbor. Small groups walked across the heath in various directions to visit the steel mills, a fish-packing plant, a typical North German farmstead and the sacred stone monuments of the early inhabitants. Most of the members spent at least one day exploring the dunes and forests along the coast of the Baltic. Many of them made a journey into the forested hills of Holstein "Switzerland." A guide accompanied several teachers on a four-day trip to the Friesian Islands and another small group crossed into Denmark for a visit to Copenhagen. Every journey meant a field study, under competent leaders, so that these teachers returned to their own schools with some added knowledge of what to teach as well as some fresh ideas about how to teach. Their convention was strictly professional and no time was given to organization politics.

Germany's program of teacher training is still on an experimental basis, particularly with regard to the elementary schools. But plans and tendencies indicate clearly that standards are being raised, professional democracy sought, and objectives lined up with those of the activity school. Just as the school reform came from teachers in the ranks, so it has led them to create many of the agencies for their own reëducation with little help from the teachers' colleges and institutes. If the great mass of German teachers had had access to the universities before the war, the story would have been different. As it happened, the radical schoolmen acted without regard for their academic overlords when they proclaimed the school revolution and they have carried out their reform program with little aid from university professors. Some of the latter have been sympathetic and a few have come to the support of the reformers, not only by interpreting the new school movements fairly and favorably in their lectures and writings, but also by helping to put teacher training on a better basis for all ranks of the profession.

Eventually the example and teaching of various types of training centers should become a great force in stabilizing and directing the educational reforms that are still somewhat chaotic and faulty in practice. The need for such guidance is great, because teachers

trained under the old régime have found themselves confronted by new problems, which cannot be solved by the old rules and there is much waste in applying empirical methods. While teachers with the new spirit have been experimenting individually, a generation of children has passed through the elementary schools, better educated than they were under the old system, but not so well educated under the new as they will be when common practice has been adjusted to recent theories. It is all a question of developing the teacher's classroom techniques to fit the changed objectives, and it is this problem that training institutions are attacking.

It is characteristic of German pedagogues to work from philosophy back toward real conditions. The opposite procedure is typical of American teachers who equip themselves with practical devices before they attempt to grasp the underlying philosophy of education. Each group attacks the problems of the school from a different angle and each has something to learn from the method the other employs. During these years of release many German teachers have lived in utopian dreams woven of ideals they wished to attain and of a spirit they believed had enveloped the schools. The most clear-headed soon freed themselves of illusions. A few are discouraged, but the majority are entering upon the second stage of the school reform and working hard upon the details of administration, curriculum building and teacher training without which their first victories would gradually diminish in value. At this point the laboratory schools can begin to have marked influence.

During the first years of the school reform its most ardent proponents had nothing but scorn for "scientific education." To them the phrase seemed a contradiction in terms, for they felt their school renaissance was an affair of the spirit, not to be contaminated by the materialism of objectives, methods and standards. They were glad to be free from normal school precepts, which had prescribed the hours for each subject, the steps in each lesson and the etiquette of the classroom, even to the correct position of the pen upon the desk. In their first enthusiasm over natural education, some optimists expected such wonders from the spontaneity of childhood that they believed they were through forever with the pedagogical training of teachers. Educated men they still wanted, to be sure, but men of balanced development in mind, body and soul, not pedants trained for the narrow routine of the traditional schoolroom.

Extremists among the reformers had little use for even the most advanced writers on education. The former believed that every man who lived with a group of children in a daily round of work and play, would discover the truths about child nature for himself. That was to be part of his personal growth and professional training. They distrusted generalizations about human nature and behavior, for they saw each child as a unique individual whose personality ought to be studied in the light of his immediate environment and not through the shadowy medium of theories set down in a book by some scholar remote from the school in his dim library. The radicals trusted no conclusion fully unless it was verified by their own experience. They admitted that research might be interesting and suggestive, but they felt its results would be misleading unless checked against the experience of teachers who made common sense and love for children their first guides.

These prejudices against the expert educator and the systematic training of students are dying out as the reorganized teachers' colleges and university institutes are proving their power to take an effective part in stabilizing Germany's schools. Training institutions are not lagging far behind now in their efforts to inspire the rising generation of teachers with zeal for the new ideals in education.

CHAPTER XX

A Philosophy of Education

"Philosophy works slowly. Thoughts lie dormant for ages; and then, almost suddenly as it were, mankind finds that they have embodied themselves in institutions."—WHITEHEAD

GERMANY is a nation which has believed devoutly in the power of education and German philosophers have long theorized about the training of the young. In the present era of changing national ideals faith in education is especially widespread. The German people look to the schools to uphold the new democracy by developing in the pupils those traits of citizenship, which will cause coming generations to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the welfare of their communities, to participate effectively in the affairs of state and to enter into amicable relations with the peoples of other countries. Germans are inclined to begin with the theory involved and to proceed later to practice. In consequence of this national trait, their pedagogy is very closely connected with their philosophy or *Weltanschauung*. One must note recent changes in the German "way of looking at the world" before one can comprehend new and revived tendencies in education.

The philosophy underlying the school reforms can be examined under three headings. The first deals with the Purpose of Society, the second with the Nature of Man and the third with the Work of the School. In short, sociology, psychology and pedagogy are holding the center of attention in German philosophy to-day.

The German interpretation of the purpose of society is the keystone to the philosophy behind their political and social reforms of national scope. Of the factors reshaping social life, the most important are the theories of democracy, nationalism, socialism, *Gemeinschaft* or organic society, the influence of the Youth Movement and the ideal of *das deutsche Volk,* a united German race.

The new social philosophy has been struggling against the old conception that man was made for the state, and now triumphantly takes control of government in order to shape laws and institutions

in accordance with the will and the needs of the common man. Democracy is being sought in order to assure to each person in the German republic more individual freedom, full rights as a citizen, wider facilities for education and self-development, actual participation in the affairs of government and extended control over industrial and professional matters.

Hitherto personal liberty was restricted within the limits set by tradition and political liberty was curtailed. FORBIDDEN was a ubiquitous barrier to individual freedom. The direct prohibitions of government reached into the intimate affairs of the emperor's subjects, while the indirect consequence of state regulation gave rise to binding conventions in all avenues of life. Official status, economic status and social status set up lines of demarcation between man and man, that hindered any adequate flow of ability from one social level to another and shut up the various groups within the narrowing bounds of upper class power and snobbery, bourgeois ambition or complacency and lower class discontent or despair.

Before the revolution political enfranchisement was limited in Prussia and voting power was proportionate to possessions, so that the real control of government was divided between the plutocracy and middle class property owners. The mere wage earner was not a citizen in any real sense. He was simply a subject of the Kaiser and practically dependent upon the will of war lords and money barons for the necessities of life.

Pre-war regulation of industry was largely in the hands of government and capital, but the road for industrial democracy was already being prepared by social pioneers. In 1914 there were 2,300 coöperative societies in Germany. The old guilds of craftsmen had ceased to unite small handworkers and shopkeepers, but trades unions had developed considerable strength and enrolled about 4,000,000 German workmen. The professions were bureaucratized under a system of state examinations and regulations, which prescribed the path a doctor or lawyer must follow from the day he entered training until the hour he ceased practice. The position of teachers was defined with special precision, for they were all servants of the state, charged with the responsible task of perpetuating its doctrines. They were trained in state institutions according to uniform specifications. Their duties in the teaching service were expressly defined and their privileges equally well assured.

In times of peace the imperial government's system of control functioned down to the minutest detail, but it failed to survive under the ultimate test, because it was inflexible and inhuman. Man and his affairs cannot be subjected to such mechanization without violent protest, and that was the consequence which brought affairs both within and without the German empire to a crisis that ended in military defeat and social revolution.

The break with traditional purposes and powers has released forces which have long tended toward a democratic reformation of German politics and institutions. Class privilege is swept away. Every man and woman over twenty years of age is enfranchised. The schools are opened to all pupils and ability to profit by educational opportunity is theoretically the criterion of selection for admission to the secondary schools and the universities. Dogmatic teaching has decreased and militaristic methods are disappearing. Workers and professional men are gradually assuming more control over their own occupations. The opportunity for self-determination is particularly well used by school men, who have seized the chance to reorganize the schools and re-orient educational aims with reference to the purposes of a new democratic nation. Wider professional control gives them freedom to use the powers of idealism, intellect and action, which had lain dormant under the paralyzing effect of imperial dominion and dictation. Teachers see the hope of the new republic in the bent they give to childhood and youth. They know that the school remains an instrument of government and that it is in danger of becoming a political tool. But at least the school is no longer wholly and irrevocably committed to a single policy. It is being fought for by many factions and in the very division of interests lies some hope that it may preserve that degree of integrity indispensable to an educational institution, and may hold intact certain neutral areas that will provide permanent asylum for liberal thought and practice.

Germany is slowly achieving social democracy in government and education. The change is still partial and fluctuating, but the republic goes steadily forward. Already many pitfalls in democratic theory and practice have been discovered by the people, but however discouraging these may be, and however subversive of the new ideals, there is not likely to be a return to the old domination by monarchy. There will never again be a time like that in the hey-day of the

empire when the state was omnipotent, a value in itself above all claims of persons and social principles. Now the state exists simply as a necessary organization of groups, which must find a means of government to reconcile their varied interests and to undertake the management of affairs necessary to their existence. To-day the German state is "of, by and for the people" instead of over them.

The democratic theory of government is producing a new type of citizen who was obscured under the old régime. The German of to-day feels his personal value as a human being, claims his rights as an independent creature and assumes his responsibilities as one of those upon whom the state rests. The novelty of this new-found liberty and pride may wear away somewhat, but at present the ratio of voters to population gives evidence of the serious interest Germany's citizens are taking in the management of state affairs. In 1927 eighty per cent of the potential voters in Germany went to the polls, as against forty-five per cent in the United States.

The changing ideal of German character has been affected by the weakening of caste distinctions and particularly by the downfall of the military group, by the lessening of official prerogatives and by the democratization of the teaching profession. There is no longer a triumvirate, acting for the Emperor, which can control the details of personal life from the cradle to the grave. Those three masters of former times—the soldier, the official and the teacher—have either disappeared or come down to the average human level. Their motives and activities are no longer closed books to the common man. He is daring to look inside, to learn what he can and to think whatever he pleases.

Realities experienced have widened his vision. Germanism is not the one satisfying, perfect ideal of character that he was taught to believe in the elementary school. He has learned of something more from the English, the French and the Americans. Their national faults and eccentricities are still to be seen, but their traits of personality suggest neglected values in the old ideal of German manhood. Fortunately the German people are not falling into the easy error of taking up imitatively the characteristics they judge worthy and admirable in other nationalities. Instead they have turned back to the times when their own race promised better things than have come to pass. They have sought the original values in Teutonic tradition and German culture, that they may set up a national ideal,

deserving the emulation of every boy and girl on German soil and worthy of the true, patriotic devotion of every German citizen.

A new concept of nationalism has arisen as the lode star of the German republic. The common people and celebrated leaders alike feel that the fate of the democratic government with all its reorganized institutions depends upon the spiritual unification of the German people and their consecration to national ideals. Before the war their union was forced and external. Afterward they strove to make it genuine as they struggled desperately that the young republic might survive the severe test of economic depression and threatened dissolution. What the development of virile German culture and nationalism meant to the nation was wonderfully demonstrated following the debâcle of 1918. The feeling of nationalism was the only thing left to the defeated and confused populace. The condition of the country was very critical, but the inner force given the people by strong feelings of love for the nation and pride in their race and its civilization, were strong enough to overcome all separatistic tendencies and to defeat the hope of some of its enemies that the country would fall apart.

To strengthen the new order of government and to restore the morale of the people, the republican leaders emphasized the artificiality of the Prussian régime and urged that the nation return to the sources of its strength, to the virtues of the peasantry, to the teachings of German classicists and humanists and to the folkways of their Teutonic ancestors. In the common quest for national elements of beauty and value the strain of reconstruction days was lessened and strength was gathered for the up-building of the nation. The republic became more firmly rooted in the native soil than the German Empire ever had been under William II. Indigenous culture became the all-inclusive slogan of the new nationalism. Its advocates aimed to restore German self-respect, to cultivate the resources of the land, to know its past and present, to love its beauties and to serve its people.

This introverted tendency was partly voluntary and partly the result of circumstances. The philosophy of the Youth Movement and the opinion of other leaders favored strong emphasis on nationalism. An unusual degree of isolation from the rest of the world threw Germany back on her own resources temporarily. Lacking the normal amount of exchange with other lands, she was compelled to

seek within her own borders those interests formerly satisfied by foreign contacts. Prejudice against outsiders may have influenced Germans slightly in their concentration on indigenous culture, but there was no evidence of ill-feeling toward former enemies when normal communication was resumed. Most tendencies which have been attributed to post-war prejudices are found to have originated earlier. For example, the movement for preserving the native character of the German language by opposing foreign influence had begun long before the war.

National leaders and literary men had deplored the fact that the native tongue was neglected and considered inferior, because German scholars had preferred to display their erudition by writing in French, English and Latin, while social arbiters made French the language of polite conversation. The complainants opposed both these standards and objected to the corruption of the German tongue by the adoption of many foreign words. Since the war, there has been a concerted effort to restore German forms to popular usage and to discard French and English terms that had crept into common speech. There has also been a revival of regional dialects, some of which claim to be root languages of ancient Teutonic tribes. All dialects are valued because they preserve provincial characteristics in the local literature of folk tales, songs and dramas.

The new nationalism, then, does not aim to secure uniformity throughout the land. It is eager to permit the development of diverse elements within the nation, so long as the degree of difference enriches the whole and does not tend toward disruption. It does tend to counteract foreign influences, but with little effect now that outside contacts are made easy by travel, telegraph, journals, moving pictures and radio.

Germans who believe strongly in the national need for concentration on their own native culture just now, are particularly fearful of certain influences that come out of America. They do not wish to see their young people exposed constantly to the stimulation of movies, jazz, tabloids, competitive and professional sports, or to the mania for style, speed, bigness and easy money, which they associate with modern America. Their disapproval of such influences on German youth is not a criticism of American life in general, for the well informed German realizes that the young Western World has produced a kind of culture, native to its shores, which is different

from European civilization, but true to America, the pioneer democracy, "the land of youth and unlimited possibilities." Yet the German thinker who values the culture of his own nation and continent does not wish to see that submerged in the Americanization of Europe. He may grant that citizens of the United States are politically free and he may envy their vocational opportunities, but he seldom admires their cultural achievements outside the field of technology. He thinks of their personal lives as standardized and poor in materials for esthetic or intellectual enjoyment. He recognizes the good-heartedness of America, but he doubts whether the land has really come of age and whether it has a soul.

Part of this distrust is due to slight knowledge of recent cultural tendencies in the United States. To the average European this is still a land of Indians and cowboys with bank bandits, prize fighters and movie stars as late additions to frontier life. It is only in the last quarter of a century that the intelligentsia of America have been known abroad for their numbers and activity. German philosophers and artists are watching this new development with interest, for they believe that productions of distinctive merit will come from a land that has so much vitality to pour into creative work and such a rich field of material to draw upon. Whatever America produces, however, is not their ideal of what young Germany should produce. They believe that the wells of their national culture are still flowing and that German youths should be led to seek inspiration from the home land instead of fabricating imitations of American work.

It is noteworthy that the German educational reform has followed nationalist principles strictly by adopting no foreign systems of pedagogical method. Elsewhere in European countries are to be found schools organized for teaching by the Montessori, Dalton, Winnetka or Decroly methods. Before the war Madame Montessori's work had roused some interest in Germany and her efforts have since led to the establishment of a few small private classes there. With this exception, the entire German school reform draws its principles from a philosophy developed on the native soil and general practice follows methods worked out by German educators. Their theories parallel those of Dewey, Decroly, Ferrière, and Marietta Johnson at many points but they were developed independently. Possibly this would not have been the case if the war

had not intervened just at the time when modern school movements were attaining international scope.

The turning point for nationalism came in 1926 when Germany became a member of the League of Nations. Up to that time an introverted form of nationalism had been dominant in the schools. Afterward there was less insistence on native culture and more interest in international affairs. A change of attitude among educators as well as the improved financial condition of the country is indicated by the fact that Germany sent many delegates to the Locarno Conference of the New Education group in 1927. Germans participated in the World Conference at Toronto in 1927 and in the World Congress and American Education Week held at Frankfort in 1928. Thirty German educators visited America in the same year to acquaint themselves with practices in the schools of the United States. They remain critical of our philosophy and of certain procedures, but they appreciate some of the practical methods developed by American teachers and they are gaining a wider view of the service schools render to a democracy.

Pupils from Germany are making long trips into other countries, not only to perfect themselves in foreign languages, but also to broaden their own point of view through contact with different customs and peoples, so that the security of international relations may be built on a solid foundation of mutual understanding. In the secondary schools particularly, pupils are brought into manifold contacts with the thought and effort of other nations. The teaching of foreign languages means much more than the study of grammar and the reading of a few classics, for it attempts to put the pupils in touch with the ways of life and thought in other lands, and to give a sufficient command of speech so that the German abroad can communicate in the native idiom of the country visited and thus look inside the minds of the people. The German boy or girl is expected to recognize the peculiar characteristics of other races and to respect their contributions to the world's progress and to his own country. He is led to see that the entire globe is a single cultural commonwealth in this modern era. Foreign interests are competing for the attention of the German citizen and of German youth. Native culture has a less exclusive appeal as the material advantages of wider contacts become conspicuous.

The early propaganda for nationalism served to carry the young republic through a crucial period and to start the threads of spiritual unity which have woven all provinces, castes and parties into a nation that shows increasing strength. Indigenous culture brought forth from the romantic shadows of the past certain ideals that gave compensation for defeat and direction in the midst of chaos. National confidence was restored and a good foundation laid for reconstruction work. The concept of nationalism, like the Youth Movement, soon grew beyond vague idealism and shaped itself to realities. There is no evidence at present of nationalistic conceit among the German people nor in the citizenship training given by the schools. The state and the schools foster honest pride in the achievements of the race, faith in the industry of the populace and love for the homeland. Sound patriotism is an essential preliminary to effective participation in international affairs, for a citizen must love his own land well before he can have the vision of universal brotherhood.

In the political field the tenets of the Social Democrats have had tremendous influence upon public opinion and the schools in Germany. Socialist doctrines and practices have put their stamp on the thinking of many persons who do not subscribe to the principles of the party and who have fought against their rising power for years. At one moment a conservative Nationalist may bitterly lament the downfall of the empire and the ignominy of life under a socialist régime. In the next breath he may heartily commend the advance being made in public education through the people's universities, public libraries and juvenile welfare bureaus. Several beneficial measures introduced by the socialist group have been taken over and their origin forgotten. In a short space of time socialist philosophy has penetrated public thought to such an extent that many persons no longer combat it out of sheer prejudice, but accept the new social views as a matter of course under the republic.

Behind the revolution stood the Socialist party, or Social Democrats, as they are called in Germany. They came to power on November 9, 1918, and have held the majority in the Reichstag for ten years with only slight fluctuations. In spite of opposition from parties of the center, the right and the extreme left, it is chiefly the philosophy of the Social Democrats which is being worked out in the new schools and other social institutions. The years preceding the war had shown the aims and the strength of the Socialists in

Germany. The party became active there in 1864 and it was conducting a vigorous anti-military campaign between 1910 and 1914. The Socialists were a constant irritant to the Kaiser's government, because of their repeated protests against militarism, capitalism and class privilege.

When they came to power in 1918, they were faced with stupendous problems of reconstruction, but their task was made easier by the fact that government ownership of railways, telegraph, water, gas, electric and postal service was already well established. The new administration had only to change from bureaucratic control to democratic management in order to attain one of the aims of socialism. Likewise, they found that a paternalistic government had left in their hands certain welfare agencies and cultural institutions that required only slight modifications to serve socialist purposes.

Provisions for pensions, unemployment doles and public welfare which existed before the war were expanded afterward to relieve the unusual economic strain on the lower classes. Public kitchens were established, doles were paid to veterans and the unemployed, an extensive recuperation program for children was inaugurated, housing conditions were partially equallized and municipal apartments were built to relieve the congestion. Royal and civic theaters were turned over to the new government to be used for the amusement and education of the masses. Special performances of opera and drama were presented at popular prices. Reading rooms and libraries were enlarged or newly established to accommodate the growing numbers of working people, whose bolder outlook on life made them desire fuller opportunities for education. The schools were reorganized with a view to eliminating class distinctions and the policy of all educational centers was more or less affected by the liberalism of socialist doctrines.

The influence of political socialism has been tempered by the spirit of the Youth Movement. At many points the principles of the two groups coincide, but the practical, materialistic aims of Marxian socialists have been offset by the romantic ideals of youth. The aggressive tactics of politicians have met passive resistance from those who believe in natural growth or slowly evolving change. Whenever partisan interests have raised their heads and threatened class war, leaders of the Youth Movement have tried to unite all under the standard of national brotherhood and humanitarianism.

In the main the early Youth Movement supported the philosophy of democracy; it scattered effective propaganda for nationalism; and it worked for social unity that sprang from the hearts of the people and made them realize their common membership in a great racial community.

This idea of the Community or *Gemeinschaft* plays an outstanding rôle in modern German life and philosophy. In 1885 Thönnies distinguished between two kinds of human social life: an artificial form, society or *Gesellschaft,* and a natural form, the community or *Gemeinschaft,* which is commonly interpreted as an organic social group. The first type is consciously constructed. For example, the members of a business organization are outwardly bound together by a common purpose, but their association is not a permanent, vital union. The community or *Gemeinschaft,* on the other hand, is the natural form in which human beings live together. It rests originally upon ties of blood, which bind together the members of a family or a race, and it is, therefore, more intimate and friendly than an organized group. A society is bound together on the surface and at the periphery; a community by the common inner character of its members. When human beings live together in this latter kind of community, they are especially near one another and reveal their inmost natures.

The widespread use of the word *Gemeinschaft* in this special sense is evidence that the idea of close association has been uppermost in the minds of all sorts of German social reformers. The Youth Movement revealed the communal interest of young people and worked for the realization of a *Jugendgemeinschaft.* Experimental schools changed their name to *Gemeinschaftsschule* to indicate their purpose of bringing parents, teachers and pupils into a close relation of interdependence and mutual service. Their ideal was that of a great family and they expanded their name to *Lebensgemeinschaftsschule,* Life Community School, in order to indicate the vital character of their association. In the *Landerziehungsheime,* Country School Homes, the family spirit was cultivated, or groups were formed with less stress on personal ties and more on the common interests that grow up in a *Gemeinde* or small community. Many day schools of the average type have their *Schulgemeinden,* school councils, where they endeavor to cultivate social motives and group spirit.

The most frequent expression of the idea occurs in connection with the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* or working group. Practically every school of every type has made some provision for voluntary working groups or clubs of pupils who are drawn together by a common interest and associated with a teacher who shares their enthusiasm. But the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* is not confined to pupils in the schools. Groups of teachers likewise form clubs for voluntary study of their professional problems and other interests. Industrial workers have their *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* for the promotion of solidarity among laborers to the end that their vocational needs and leisure tastes may be better served.

The essential characteristic of all such associations is that they shall fulfill some common inner need of each member of the group and that they shall be voluntary and not official. Consequently, the organization is always simple and studiously avoids the formality of parliamentary procedure. The dynamic nature of vital association is recognized by the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* in their refusal to bind themselves to fixed aims, constitutions or programs of work. Some of them may go so far in this direction that their freedom becomes mere vagueness, but the principle for which they stand is nevertheless defensible. They wish to avoid codification of their purposes and methods of work, because such fixity often means the onset of fossilization. They believe that growth occurs only in the flexible organism which is at liberty to evolve according to the changing stimuli without and the developing nature of its components within. They want the *Gemeinschaftsgeist*, communal spirit, to keep its regenerative power at work in all sorts of groups and it must be allowed freedom to take on any shape that fits the varied, changing needs of human beings. Therefore, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* cannot be defined as a single type of social organization. It is the recognition of that instinctive desire men show to ally themselves with others in the pursuit of pleasure or in an attack on common problems.

The new German nationalism is an embodiment of the same idea. It is less concerned with the forms of government and the status of institutions than it is with the spirit of a people seeking expression through social channels. The social philosophy of the country is revealed in a single phrase often spoken with fullness of meaning and depth of emotion by national leaders, school children and citizens. "*Das deutsche Volk*," the German people—that is the real

social ideal of the nation. A *people*, not an empire; the *German* people with their racial traits developing anew and their native culture preserved, holding a place as equals in the councils of the world; one *folk*, united in spiritual devotion to common aims and bound together by ties of blood, by mutual responsibility and benefits. Such is the conception of *das deutsche Volk* shared by young and old throughout the Fatherland.

This point of view is primarily social and non-individualistic. The unrest of the nineteenth century that gave rise to demands for individual rights, culminating in the Revolution, had its roots in the philosophy of individualism that such men as Nietzsche and Schopenhauer had scattered among the German people. Yet to-day the individual is not overemphasized. He is not set apart from his connections with the group as if he were an entity, but he is generally looked upon as one whose development and interests are closely bound up with those of society. Room for individual variation is allowed, but the good of the group is to set the limits of personal freedom. The aim of German education to-day is to develop each child into a personality bound to the group by the sense of his own origin, obligations and advantage, but able to free himself from the dominance of group mind to some extent when there is need for standing apart to get an independent view of situations.

The trend of recent German psychology is clearly shown by the fact that the human mind is looked upon as a spiritual force rather than a mechanism. Experimental, analytic psychology was well developed in Germany before the war, but it has made relatively little progress since, because the attention of psychologists has been directed chiefly toward philosophy and the general objectives of education. Hence, there is slight evidence in German schools of tests, measurements and statistics like those produced in quantities by American research bureaus. Educators there are most interested in the intangible, unconscious, developing factors, which make up the total personality of an individual and the character of a social group.

As a key to the educational theory of the present, one must realize that contemporary German philosophy is in direct opposition to mechanism and a technical age. Germans are seeking the "era of the soul." During and after the war many of them desired that materialistic standards should be superseded by spiritual values. The new movement had gained some attention fifteen years before

the opening of the world conflict. Certain phases of the spiritual revival found their expression in the Youth Movement. They bore a distinct relationship to the romantic movement in Germany a hundred years ago, which asserted that man has a rightful place at the center of culture and that he is the real starting point of all social evolution. The idealism of modern Germany is closely related to the idealism of Pestalozzi, Kant and Fichte. It is very similar to that humanism which appeared at the time of the Renaissance and found its characteristic expression in Germany through the ideas of Melanchthon and the ideals of the Reformation. It is related also to the humanism of the German classicists, Schiller, Goethe and Humboldt. Germany is now experiencing its third humanistic revival. The age of scientific analysis and mechanical control is giving place to a period of spiritual synthesis and harmonious integration of the diverse factors in the life of man. Again the entire human being is considered the most worthy object of study and human welfare the highest good.

In this new humanistic movement man is regarded as the experiencing agency, the *Erlebnismittelpunkt*. His mental ability and creative power became the essential forces in education and the study of them in action requires a change in educational science. The word which serves as a key to modern German pedagogy is *Erlebnis*, signifying awakening and inner change in the human being who has undergone an outstanding or valuable experience. Accordingly each man's life and mind is built up of experience complexes, with great individual differences in the total structures, because every person is responsive to many impressions and individuals vary in their receptivity to the same impression.

Thus it follows that many German educators to-day are guided in their thinking by the concepts of *Gestaltpsychologie*, or structural psychology. To them psychical life is a meaningful collection of experiences or interactions with environment affecting the whole being and developing the personality as a unity. Every age is thought to have a somewhat different structural pattern. Childhood, adolescence, maturity and old age each have a particular center which determines the general personality and mental structure of individuals in that period of life. To understand any age the investigator must penetrate to its center, and to deal with any individual, the psychologist needs a view of his complete personality. It is important for

education that the psychologists are studying the specific psychical centers of childhood and youth. Teachers are following their lead by making case records and personality studies of individual pupils. The practical aim is to apply every educational influence with the idea of giving form to the total structure instead of merely altering one part by specific training.

The principle of activity is coördinate with the principle of experience and equally fundamental to structural psychology. The individual is regarded as the source of creative activity by which he gives meaning and form to his body of experiences. Thus he builds his own world within himself using his creative powers to assimilate and organize materials acquired from without, so that he may in turn express what lives within his soul. The stimulation and training of creative power are the most important tasks of education.

The new psychology, having built a concept of the human mind as a total structure, next proceeds to distinguish between outstanding personality types, or *Lebensformen.* Recognition of the distinct personality of each individual carries with it an implication that the person, character, thoughts and activities of the individual have a unique value and should be inviolable. This is the psychological argument for the rights of man. It is a defense of his freedom to pursue his own way through the world, enjoying independence of thought and action. Educators influenced by structural psychology feel that the normal development of the human mind requires that each individual be allowed opportunities for self-determination and for regulating his life according to his own inner standards of need and right. Thus the educational psychologist who believes in the infinite resources of emotion and intellect in the human race, protests against the forces which tend to distort spiritual growth by over-control.

In making this appeal for individual liberty the German psychologists do not lose sight of the social structure which produces and shapes each person, conditioning his type of thinking and choice of acts. They think of each personality type as depending somewhat upon hereditary traits, but as being formed also to a considerable degree by environment and especially by social influences. Racial, national and group psychology are considered very important in the development of particular personality types. Therefore, social

psychology is basic to the study of human nature. Just as many German psychologists endeavor to synthesize all psychic traits which make up the personality of an individual, so do they try to discover the whole combination of factors, which make the spirit of a group what it is. They constantly speak of *Gemeinschaftsgeist*, group spirit, as if it were a definite thing acting upon all the individuals within the circle of its influence. They have not let go of their concept of individual personality, but they see it always colored by the surrounding social atmosphere. They believe that the significance of the individual is not only heightened, but actually created and formed by the unique circumstances of life in a particular family, school or nation.

German psychology of to-day tends toward philosophy and at times it even verges on mysticism. Its researches are closely connected with the untiring quest for *die deutsche Seele*. What is the essential character of the German spirit? Are successive generations being educated in faithful adherence to the spiritual structure of the Teutonic race? There is a wide-spread conviction among Germans that they are not yet sufficiently conscious of their own psychic characteristics. They seem to feel that the unique national traits of some of their neighbors are more perfectly crystallized. They have a definite picture of what it is to be an Englishman or a Frenchman and they feel that it is an advantage for each country to hold before its children and citizens some clear ideal of national personality. Theirs is still in the process of formation just as the ideal of Americanism is as yet vague.

The many phases of social and spiritual philosophy mentioned above have had tremendous influence on German education. The resultant of these forces is seen in three primary aims for the work of the school: to develop character through experience which moves the individual by appealing to the heart as well as to the intellect; to give freedom, for in freedom alone can human activity and creative power develop; and to foster community feeling. These purposes find their expression in the educational ideals of complete personality, the Activity School and the Community School.

The ideal of *Persönlichkeit*, personality or character, implies the fullest possible development of the individual through experiences and it places upon the school the responsibility for providing the right kind of environment. It means that the school is to guard

the natural springs of emotional expression, to enrich the life of the soul through worthy experiences and to provide for the physical, intellectual and social development of pupils even more fully than heretofore. Vitality and unity are the outstanding principles of the new educational philosophy. The human being must be viewed as a dynamic whole. Education must be a harmonious process working toward vigor and balance in personality.

In modern schools the second principle of freedom is given considerable importance. Two systems of education have long competed with one another, one imposing restraint on the pupil and the other allowing him freedom. The example of the first is military education as found among the Spartans, the Jesuits and the armies of all countries. Its educational principle is control by authority and submission of the individual. The second system, advocating freedom, permits individuality to come into its own and does not dam up the inner life of the person. In Germany the university student has always been relatively free to do as he wishes and to accept the responsibility of his own acts. To-day this free spirit begins to take hold of the entire educational system in order that the creative power of the nation may be released.

Just as liberty for the individual has become a guiding principle of education within the schools, so freedom of transfer is becoming a governing principle of school organization. The old types of schools have lost their rigid distinctions. Transition from one type to another is provided. The ideal is the *elastische Einheitsschule*, flexible common school, providing the maximum freedom of choice and transfer for pupils. Although such a school system is not yet complete in reality, yet there exists a strong tendency toward it, and consideration for individuality is outstanding in the present German view of the work of the school.

The encouragement of self-activity and creative power is implicit in the method of the *Arbeitsschule*, or School of Activity, which owes its inception in Germany chiefly to Kerschensteiner. Different meanings of the much-used word, *Arbeitsschule*, must be distinguished. Sometimes this name is applied to the school promoting manual skill and expression through objective projects, but manual training is far from fulfilling all the aims of the Activity School. The development of the creative power of the mind is regarded as correlative and even more important. The German idealists, Kant,

Fichte and Hegel, agreed that the essential characteristic of the human mind is activity, and that this consists of continuous creating. This line of thought has been taken up by present day German philosophy and was well presented by Gaudig.

Considered from the standpoint of esthetics, the Activity School aims to release the power of expression or the ability to present in visible form what lives in the soul. By fostering arts and crafts, free composition and imaginative poetry as products of the pupils' own experiences, this phase of school work develops future artists and writers at the same time that it deepens the appreciative powers of many children, who will never become producers of art or literature.

But when it is necessary to present objectively a matter which is in itself dry and which is not near to the pupil's heart, imagination and creative effort will not suffice. A further conception of the activity method is, therefore, that it is to promote exact, logical work preparatory to problem solving. Kerschensteiner regards the *Arbeitsschule* in this sense as a guide to strict thinking, where reason must rule and logic be applied with exactitude. He believes that work requiring accuracy and inspiring in the pupil a desire for completion is especially educative. Thus it is apparent that the Activity School recognizes artistic freedom on the one hand and scientific confinement to the problem on the other, with all the intervening gradations of work wherein these two elements mingle.

The term *Arbeitsschule* has yet another meaning, which is of less significance in German schools. It is sometimes identified with the *Produktionsschule,* or Work School, which is found in Russia and forms part of the educational program favored by the radical Socialist and Communist parties of Germany. From their point of view the *Activity School* should not only develop the esthetic and rational values in education but should also produce actual goods of economic value. Some teachers in these groups want their pupils to manufacture goods in quantity and by machinery, following the production methods of the factories in which the pupils will be employed in the future. The guiding principle of the *Produktionsschule* is this: "Every mental worker a manual worker; every manual worker a mental worker." The demand that the school shall carry on useful work is traceable to the Marxian viewpoint, which suggests that if economic life is the basis of culture, education must

take into fuller consideration business values. This form of the *Arbeitsschule* remains a theory in Germany, except as a few schools allow the pupils to take a small part in gardening or construction on the school property, but the *Produktionsschule* is being made a reality in Soviet Russia. German educators swing away from materialistic goals and put greater emphasis on the development of the human being. They feel that the growth of the individual is endangered if he is too much concerned about utility at an early age. Here modern pedagogy has a point in common with the classical ideal as it was expressed by Kant: "Man is a purpose in himself, not a link in a purpose outside of the self."

The third great principle of the New Education in Germany is that of socialization or community life, typified in the ideal of the *Gemeinschaftsschule*, which unites in one group pupils of all ages, of both sexes, and persons of various religious beliefs. The purpose of these schools is not only to impart instruction, but to encompass the whole life of their pupils and to give special attention to social motives. Some of them seek their ideal by retiring from the world in rural solitudes, while others value daily contacts with modern city life. Both agree that the school council is a necessary agency for exchange of opinions and community control.

Man and society as the human elements in the educational process have been given full weight in German philosophy, but it has not neglected another component; that is, culture as the material of education with the help of which humanity is to be developed. *Kulturkunde* is the science of culture, as has been indicated in connection with the *Deutsche Oberschule*. The principle of *Kulturkunde* can be regarded in two ways. Culture may simply be the soil from which the individual grows and receives nourishment for his development, or it may be the compelling force which determines how the individual shall think and what he must become.

This conflict in German educational philosophy is resolved to some extent in a point of view, which takes into consideration the rights of the individual (psychological aspect), the problems of society, (sociological aspect) and the objectives of instruction (cultural aspect). From this standpoint education is seen as an essential cultural process working through the individual to promote social evolution. The school appears as an institution with great responsibilities to the culture of the past, the pupils of the present and the society of

the future. This view is generally held by German educators of the liberal, but non-radical groups.

It seems probable that the philosophers calling themselves Monists have exercised a considerable influence on German thought during the past twenty-five years. Even though the movement for unity began in pure philosophy and was limited to scholars who stood apart from popular trends and concerned themselves chiefly with the dualism of religion and science, yet their theories appear to follow the same lines that have become prominent in practical fields and applied especially to education. Monism is opposed to dualism or separatism. It seeks the harmonious unification of elements in a structural whole that balances all its parts in a relation to one another, which makes each more meaningful when connected with its fellows than when standing alone. The principle seems to be exactly the same as that so conspicuous in *Gestaltpsychologie, Einheitsschule, Gemeinschaft* or *Gesamtunterricht.* In each case there is a striving for unity and meaningful relationships. There is opposition to dividing lines that violate the integrity of the whole. There appears to be a strong conviction among German philosophers and educators that unity is the way of nature, the condition for growth and an assurance of strength.

Whether psychologists and teachers developed their specific theories under the influence of Monist philosophy, or whether the line of thought followed by both groups was the resultant of circumstances to which both were simultaneously exposed, does not greatly matter. But the likeness in tendency is significant, for it shows clearly the national quest for a solution of life's problems on the basis of spiritual harmony and completeness. It denotes unwillingness to accept partial remedies for human ills.

Possibly this is one reason that psychoanalysis has found such limited acceptance in Germany, for it is a type of psychology that violates the principle of unity by taking partial motives and making them controls. Stress on the emotional and subconscious factors of psychic life has brought German educators into close touch with the psychoanalysts at many points, but few German psychologists accept in their entirety the basic hypotheses advanced by Viennese and Swiss psychologists of the analytic school. The sex life, the will to power and the libido, which Freud, Adler and Jung respectively have pointed out as the motivating forces in human thought and

action, do not appeal to German thought of the present as satisfactory answers to the problem of human behavior. Many German psychologists are willing to grant that each of these factors plays some part in the life of the individual and society, but they do not stress any one of them exclusively and educators tend to see them, if at all, in a romantic light. Coupled with this tendency to spiritualize motives, the German mind takes a practical view, which refuses to grant that any one of these motives could actually control man in the whole range of his thinking and activity.

The philosophy of vitalism has had unusual force in Germany and its doctrines have been advanced most capably by no less a scientist than Driesch, the biologist. It is easy to see what reënforcement for a philosophy of the spirit is secured, when those whose researches might have led them into mechanism, lend their support to the romantic, mystic and religious forces aroused in reaction from the war. Many of them believe that catastrophe was brought about by the materialism and spiritual decay of the German people.

Philosophy is defined in many ways. It is essentially a search for the truth, but that search may follow different directions. It may take the line of criticism, subjecting standards of value to close examination; or it may seek to interpret life and find its basic meaning; again it may point out the universal harmony that exists when all problems and conditions are referred to a system of philosophical belief. The last type of philosophy appears to be strong in Germany since the war. Search for elusive truths and despair over reality have led various groups to revive their faith in human destiny and their hope for the nation by committing themselves to some all-embracing philosophy. Democracy, nationalism, socialism, humanitarianism and naturalism have their believing followers. Orthodox religions continue to hold a part of their members and new cults like anthroposophy attract those who have abandoned the church, but who still feel the need of some spiritual faith. Education is touched by all these beliefs more or less. A few schools conform wholly to a single creed, but the mass of public schools is guided only by fundamental democratic and humanitarian ideals.

Conclusion

ANY evaluation of the school reforms in Germany should take account of three phases of the New Education movement there. A few lines of advance are generally accepted throughout the country and supported by law or common practice. Other measures are still the center of conflict, although some of them are legalized and few are in serious danger of reaction. The original and unique significance of the German school revolution is due to the teachers who made a courageous break with tradition when they struck out on new trails that promised to lead toward better schools for their pupils and a nobler social order for future generations.

A summary of the accepted reforms must state in what respects the schools of the republic differ from those of the empire. First of all, there is greater unification of the various types of schools than existed before. In a sense there is a common school system, the *Einheitsschule*, within the limits of which pupils are able to move both vertically and laterally in their educational progress. This modification stands in sharp contrast to the isolated schools of the empire, when transfer was practically impossible after a pupil had enrolled in any one type of school. It is literally true now that a pupil in Germany can proceed from the kindergarten to the university without cost, provided he is fortunate enough to be well equipped mentally. The German slogan is "An open road for the capable."

Second, education in Germany has been democratized in its standards of value. Previously German schools had emphasized the development of intellectual qualities. The distinction between mental and manual labor corresponded to the wide gulf between social classes. When the old régime, organized upon a rigid caste basis, collapsed, the liberal political parties demanded cultural and educational equality, as well as equal educational opportunity. This brought their set of values to the front. To-day much attention is given to the cultivation of the social, emotional and physical qualities of childhood and youth. All round development is provided for

more adequately than before. Any apparent neglect of academic education is a reaction to the overemphasis on intellectualism before the war. Balance will no doubt be restored within a short time.

Third, the individual now has greater possibilities for personal growth than ever before. This doctrine of freedom for the individual is tempered to a certain extent by the theory of *Gemeinsschaft*, or the subordination of the individual to the community of which he is a part. The conflict of the interests of the individual with those of the group has found a very fine solution in the new order.

Fourth, the integration of subject matter around units of interest and the more active methods of instruction reflect higher regard for the individual. The ideal of German education is no longer to fix in the child's mind a set pattern of information. Rather do the child's interests and needs, together with those of the group to which he belongs, determine the nature of the curriculum. The teacher is no longer a drill master, but he guides his pupils in the investigation of subjects and the manipulation of materials from their environment. Pupil activity has displaced teacher dominance and brought a new spirit of comradeship into the schoolroom. Moreover, the same tendency has broadened the domain of the school, so that learning is now permitted out of doors as well as inside the classroom.

The fifth outstanding gain is the improved training of teachers for the elementary schools. From now on, every teacher in Germany on any level will be required to secure his training at an institution of university rank. In this respect Germany leads the world as the first nation to bring the professional preparation of all teachers up to university standards.

The conflicts of opinion which continue to trouble the German nation and its educators center about religious, political, administrative, cultural, pedagogical and academic problems. There is the struggle between secular and religious forces for control in the schools. The Catholic party insists on the organization of schools along sectarian lines. Another strong group favors the inter-denominational school, while the radical parties favor the secular school in which no religion is taught. The Constitution itself provides and permits all of these types of schools, but, as commonly interpreted, it favors the inter-denominational school. In the cities many schools are organized on the sectarian basis, since there are generally children enough of each particular sect to form a separate

school. The radical parties are very much opposed to any kind of religious instruction in the schools and demand the privilege of organizing schools in which religious instruction is omitted, but such schools are rare. No child can be excluded from a school on account of the religious faith of his parents nor is participation in religious instruction mandatory upon pupils or teachers. The struggle for the sectarian school is fraught with danger for German unity. It is only one step from the religious school to the control of education by political parties, for the latter divide along sectarian lines to a marked degree in Germany.

Many of the politicians look upon the schools as institutions in which recruits may be gained and indoctrinated. In Russia the government has gone to the extreme of definitely stating that it proposes to further its political policy by propaganda in the schools. Those teachers and doctrines not in harmony with the dominant party are excluded. This principle found some adherents in Germany but it has met with strong opposition. The Community Schools, staffed chiefly by radical teachers and attended by children from proletarian families, are frequently centers where social and political teachings are extremely liberal, just as more conservative schools reflect the views of a reactionary staff and clientele. One finds traces of political indoctrination in all German schools, the kind and degree depending upon the community. It is still not certain whether the common school of the future will be a place where freedom of thought and tolerance are to be fostered. German educators uphold the ideal of public schools free of all political propaganda.

Another unsettled conflict has to do with the administration and autonomous control of the schools. Formerly, as in most European countries, the German schools were officially regulated in detail by central bureaus of education. The individual locality, the parents and the children had very little to do with school affairs. Immediately after the Revolution greater autonomy was given to teachers, local officials, parents and pupils. In Thuringia there was for a time no intermediate officer between the administrative officer and the classroom teacher. In Thuringia and Hamburg the principals of the elementary schools were elected by the teachers. In Prussia to-day the elementary school principal is not the superior officer of his teachers. He is merely the executive officer of the staff. All over Germany parents' councils were organized by law. The parent now plays a

prominent rôle in school affairs. In some instances, pupils' councils were formed to participate in the management of the school. To what extent this democratization of school control will be carried no one knows. There is a tendency, however, in recent years, to abandon some of the reforms in school control just mentioned.

Evidence that the balance of power remains in the hands of central departments of education appeared when opposition arose to the *Grundschule* law, which requires all children between the ages of six and ten to attend the common school. For centuries the children of the rich and the children of the poor had gone to different schools on opposite corners of the street. The new and far-reaching constitutional provision which aimed to democratize and unify the whole people, was bitterly opposed by the upper classes. At first there were school strikes, the rich refusing to send their children to the same schools as the poor. Gradually, however, this article in the Constitution went into effect all over the country. While the intent of the clause has been modified to permit able children to pass through the *Grundschule* in three years, it is finally settled that there shall be one common foundation for all subsequent education, regardless of the wishes of particular groups.

Another important point of controversy of interest to foreign countries is the emphasis German schools have placed on native culture. Since the war the curricula have given much attention to things German. A new school type, the *Deutsche Oberschule,* has been created as an expression of this search for racial and national values. Yet it cannot be said that German educators to-day fail to appreciate the outstanding characteristics and values of foreign peoples. It cannot be said either, that the German schools are emphasizing any phases of German culture which are not worthy of approval. The intense introspection which is going on now in the German schools has no doubt been occasioned by the necessity of self-appraisal following the disastrous collapse of 1918. There remains, however, a very grave danger to any nation that builds its educational system too much around its own culture and with its eyes turned inward upon its own soul. Self-consciousness is no better as a trait in a nation than in an individual.

There are many pedagogical issues still unsettled. One of the most interesting has to do with the German program of educational opportunity to gifted children. Certainly it is in sharp contrast to the

practice in America where we believe in the open educational road for everybody, almost regardless of intellectual ability. It remains to be seen whether the educational aristocracy in Germany will be any more successful in the end than was the social and political aristocracy. The group which claims for itself the privilege of excluding others from its ranks tends to become arrogant and in the end always suffers the humiliation of forced capitulation.

Another pedagogical issue has to do with the organization of subject matter in the school curricula. There has been in Germany, as in the United States, an attempt to integrate subject matter around centers of interest rather than along subject matter lines. This process of fusion has been carried to great extremes in the elementary school curricula and some attempts have been made in the secondary schools. Very likely experimenters will find out that organization in subject divisions and in units of work are both necessary at times for the best results in teaching. Related to this problem is the struggle between pupils' interests and the teacher's plans. Shall instruction be guided by the needs and wishes of the pupils or shall it be determined by the teacher? To what extent shall the community and its demands play a part in the selection and organization of school curricula? Again the answer will doubtless be found in a fair treatment of all concerned in the educational process and its outcomes: the pupil, the teacher, the community and the subject matter itself.

The wider extension of secondary education has brought on another problem, new to Germany but familiar in the United States. It has to do with the changing quality of the student body entering the university and with resultant lowering of academic standards. Until the present generation, only pupils of superior social, economic and intellectual background attended German universities. With the rapid increase of secondary school enrollments and with the greater growth promised in the future, the intellectual average of the students is liable to decline. A discussion has begun with reference to the advisability of admitting all secondary school graduates to the universities. The secondary schools are faced with the necessity of modifying their curricula and standards to fit the needs of a more heterogeneous group than they formerly served. The universities must decide whether they will admit secondary school graduates according to more flexible entrance requirements. If they

refuse to do so, as is the case in most instances up to the present, they set up a barrier to secondary school reform and check progress in the elementary schools to a certain extent. If the universities capitulate, and follow the modern trend of education, their own courses will become more liberal and varied to meet the demands of a mixed student body. The future will show whether the German university is to devote itself solely to the preparation of scholars or to undertake the spread of popular knowledge. It is already clear that if the university refuses to admit to its halls individuals of average mental power and of different caliber from the intellectual type, other higher institutions will be established to serve these purposes, because the republic demands that the benefits of higher education be made available to its future citizens.

The significance of the German school revolution does not alone lie in what it has accomplished, for it is hard to find anything startlingly new or unique in modern education, and it is probably true that there is no achievement of the German schools, which does not have its counterpart elsewhere. But the striking element which does challenge attention is the successful attack radical German educators in the public schools have made on principles and practices that had been taken for granted so many years that teachers regarded them as an essential part of educational procedure.

How many teachers would believe it possible to step into the classroom and begin teaching without a curriculum or a schedule? How many could undertake to forget the textbook and follow children's interests and questions in the development of school work? How many would be willing to step aside and allow pupils to find their way through the chaos of "no authority" to self-maintained order and pupil government? What group of teachers would have the courage to forget standards of attainment temporarily and let pupils grow through their usual child-like activities in the belief that they would thus attain the skill and knowledge required for the school and for life? Are there many teachers who have so much faith in the goodness and richness of human nature that they would trust the natural growth of pupils under favorable conditions to produce educational results equal to those secured by elaborately systematized schemes of instruction? How many teachers have experienced freedom in their own education and lives to a degree that

gives them conviction about its value for childhood and youth? How many care deeply enough for their pupils to give them the positive encouragement that alone can make a school régime of freedom, love and trust workable? Many German teachers have dared to venture into this new world of education where the child is really the center of the school.

As Americans, people of a new world, we grow impatient over the Germans' repeated insistence on an education that frees itself from the past. For we cannot know how the past rests upon them as a burden that weighs down spirit and crushes initiative. America is still a land of the present and the future. It is that hopefulness and freedom that Europeans envy us most, while we turn to them in admiration of the richness of an old and ripened civilization. We often forget that maturity brings decadence and that European youth has been weighted with the past to a degree that denied its claim to a future of its own. The Youth Movement and every reform in European schools are protests against the domination of the past. So strong is the rebellion that some educational leaders forget the other side of the problem.

Youth does not begin afresh in each generation, for it cannot create a new era out of nothingness, but it must build continually on the foundation and with the materials transmitted by its elders. German educators do not deny this, but some of them are so eager to champion the right of youth to a larger amount of freedom, that they neglect this inevitable fact and one may get the impression from their writings that they believe it is possible for youth to create a new heaven and a new earth with no help from the past. It is a case of overexaggeration and overemphasis for a purpose. Unless the cause of German youth is presented in very striking fashion, its champions will make little headway against the old order, which is so strongly entrenched that it seldom has to fight to hold its position. If Germany is to take her proper place among western nations, her leading educators say, she does need to keep the vital force of youth fresh and productive, and not let it be enslaved by tradition.

In the history of public education there is no parallel to the German school experiments. Her schools have run the entire gamut from rigid conservatism to extreme radicalism within one decade. Educators elsewhere can clarify their own problems by reflecting

on the German experiments, which were conducted in the white heat of "national self-appraisal." Out of the crucible of war and revolution has come the new goal, "Humanity," pointed out by the Prussian Minister of Education as "the last and most exalted educational ideal which stands before the future citizen of the German Republic."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

EXPLANATORY FIGURES FOR THE ACCOMPANYING CHARTS

I. GENERAL SURVEY

1.	Public *Volksschulen* in Prussia	5,461,594 boys and girls	
2.	Middle Schools	316,309 boys and girls	
3.	Secondary Schools		
	Boys	298,447	
	Girls	197,885	
4.	Art Academies	432 boys	129 girls
	Art Schools	311 boys	253 girls
	State Music Schools	312 boys	200 girls
5.	Universities	33,723 men	3,906 women
6.	Technical Universities (*Technische Hochschulen*)	8,894 men	47 women

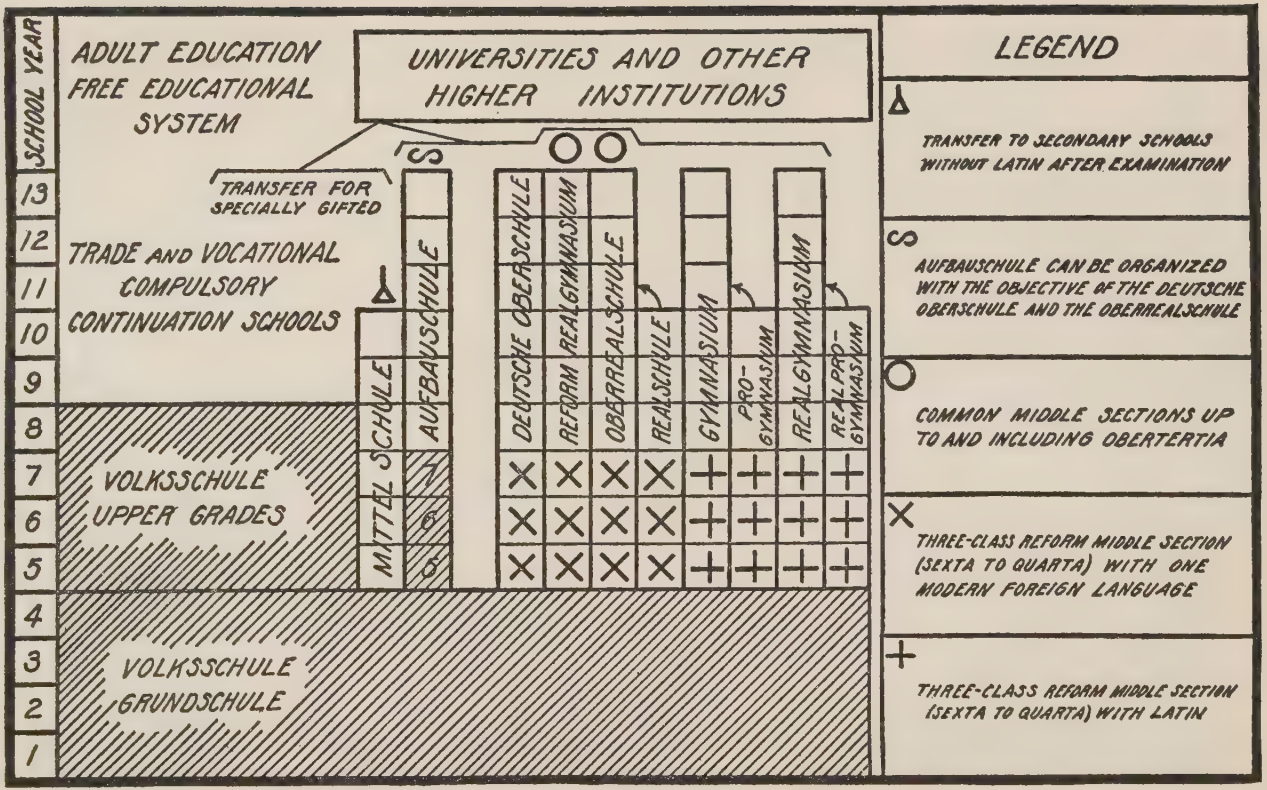
II. SECONDARY SCHOOL FOR BOYS [1]

	Schools		*Pupils*			
	1914	1924	1914	Per Cent	1924	Per Cent
Gymnasium	333	295	101,052	40.2	89,582	30.4
Progymnasium	22	15	3,140	1.2	1,708	0.6
Realgymnasium	99	128	32,092	12.8	39,955	13.6
Realprogymnasium	34	35	4,558	1.8	4,858	1.6
Oberrealschule	108	134	44,988	17.9	64,654	22.0
Realschule	192	189	35,297	14.0	40,515	13.8
Reformgymnasium	15	21	3,929	1.6	5,824	2.0
Reformrealgymnasium	78	124	24,139	9.6	44,270	15.0
Reformrealprogymnasium	17	13	2,378	0.9	2,414	0.8
Deutsche Oberschule [2]	...	4	.....	...	662	0.2
Total	898	958	251,573	100.0	294,442	100.0

[1] See the excellent collection of statistics in *Jahresberichte der höheren Lehranstalten in Preussen,* prepared by the *Staatliche Auskunftstelle für Schulwesen,* Dr. M. Kullnick, Freytag, Leipzig.

[2] In addition to these since 1922 are 73 *Aufbauschulen* in development, which are following in general the program of the *Deutsche Oberschule* and have an enrollment of 4,005 pupils. Double schools, such as a *Gymnasium* organized with a *Realgymnasium,* are counted in each category.

The losses by the treaty of peace amounted to 65 secondary schools, 27 *Gymnasien,* 5 *Progymnasien,* 10 *Realgymnasien,* 3 *Realprogymnasien,* 6 *Oberrealschulen,* and 14 *Realschulen,* including the *reform* schools. Since that time 25 schools have been added, 1 *Progymnasium,* 2 *Realgymnasien,* 10 *Realprogymnasien,* 3 *Oberrealschulen,* 9 *Realschulen.* Outside of the losses by the peace treaty and the increase in the numbers from 1914 to 1924, the changes which have appeared are due to modifications of school types.



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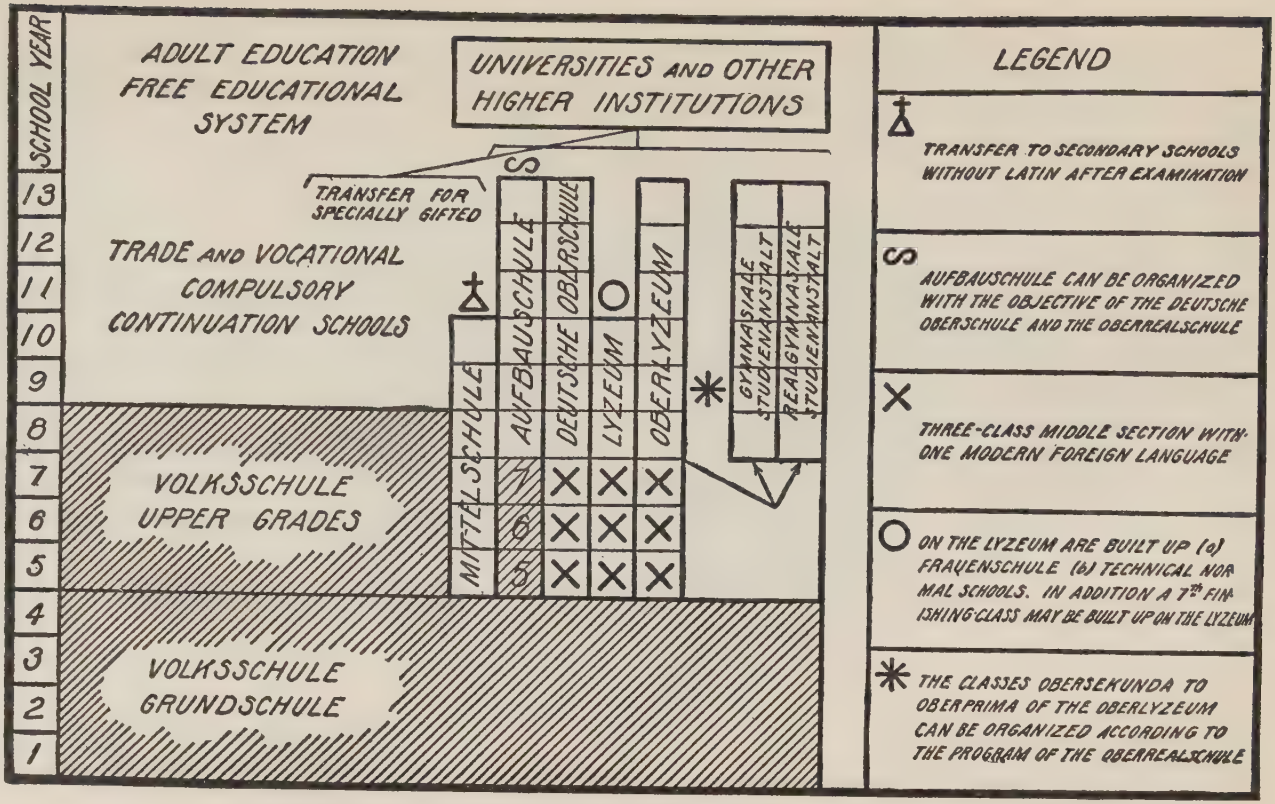

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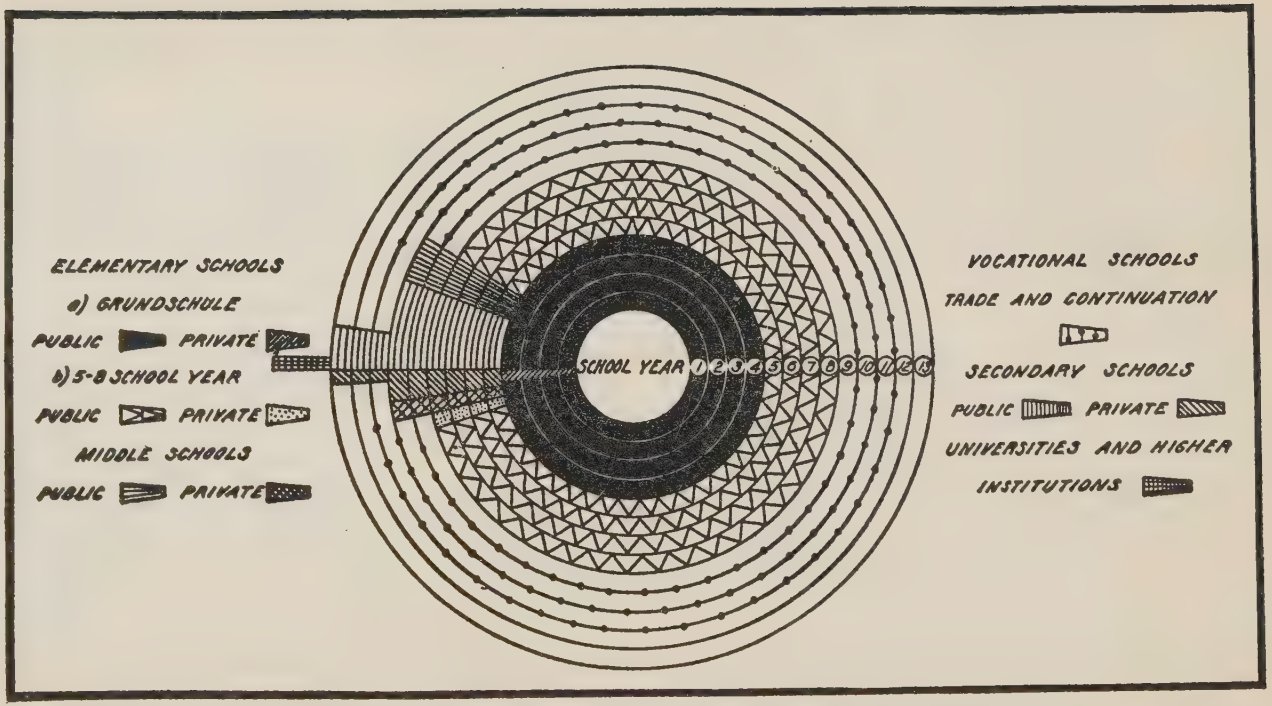

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUPILS BY YEARS IN THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF PRUSSIAN SCHOOLS

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INDEX

Activity, as principle of education, 360
Activity school, Augsburg, 124; Dortmund, 123; Dresden, 125; Leipzig, 125; Munich, 125; nature of, 121 ff.
Administration, autonomous control of, 369
Admission, to secondary schools, 270
Aim, Country Home Schools, Ch. XI; elementary school, Ch. XII; Folk College, Ch. XIII; new education, 8 ff.; secondary school, Ch. XVI; youth hostels, Ch. III; youth movement, Ch. II
Anthroposophists, 211
Arbeitsschule, 363; *see also* Activity School
Art, creative spirit, Ch. VII; definition of, 103; development of, 97 ff.; dramatics, 114; emphasis on German schools, 107; influence of academic standards, 106; influence of Lichtwark, 96 ff.; influence of pedagogy, 102; influence on general education, 100 ff.; Lichtwark School, Ch. VII; natural dancing, 112; new movements in, 100 ff.; *Odenwaldschule*, in, 205; relation to experience, 107; relation to language, 104; relation to physical education, 104; speaking chorus, 113; special teacher of, 108; teachers of, 114 ff.
Athletics, interest in, 85; *see also* Sports
Aufbauschule, 273 ff.; admission to, 171; character of, 170 ff.; class groups in, 176; curriculum of, 175; *Landheim*, of, 176; in Neukölln, 170 ff.; new building for, 177 ff.; plan of work in, 172 ff.

Berlin, experimental schools, in, 148
Birds of passage, *see* Wandervögel
Bobertag, 310 ff.
Bondy, 194; at Gandersheim, 209; work of, 209

Centralization of schools, 369
Children's village, 71
Civic education, 251
Coeducation, in community schools, 154; in *Odenwaldschule*, 202; in secondary school, 276
Community, educational meaning of, 356
Community schools, Ch. IX; after the War, 6; aims of, 149 ff.; Berlin, 148; coeducation in, 154; educational philosophy of, 151; Hamburg, 130 ff., 134; influence on teachers, 338; Magdeburg, 143 ff.; names of, 146; nature of, 132 ff.; Paulsen, definition of, 149; relation to *Landheim* movement, 142; Youth Movement, 153
Compulsory education, 245
Constitution, as basis of school reform, 243 ff.; compulsory education, 245; curriculum, 251; definition of school, 252; education of girls, 244; private schools, 249; religion, and, 247 ff.; school organization on, 246; supervision, 251; teacher training, 250
Core and course system, in secondary schools, 293
Country homes, definition of, 67; expenses of, 72; housing of, 71 ff.; implications for the United States, 82; instruction in, 75 ff.; nature of work in, 73 ff.; origin of, 68; program of, 77 ff.; relation to Youth Movement, 67; social education in, 87 ff.; supervision of, 75
Country home schools, Ch. XI; at Buchenau, 184 ff.; curriculum of, 191; development of, 179 ff.; ideals of, 190; influence of Lietz on, 179 ff.; labor in, 187 ff.; life in, 184 ff.; location of, 182; moral instruction in, 190; relation to Austrian Federal schools, 195 ff.; relation to German school reform, 195 ff.; teachers in, 188 ff.
Creative spirit, in education, Ch. VII; *see also* Art
Curriculum, *Aufbauschule*, in Neukölln, 175; changes in secondary schools, Ch. XI; core and course system, 293; core subjects in, 294; country home schools,

Ch. XI; differentiation of, 298; elementary school, Ch. XVII; enrichment of in elementary schools, 282 ff.; experimental schools, 296; freedom in, 288; and individual, 286; relation of state to elementary, 288; secondary school, Ch. XVII; teachers colleges, 329 ff.; unification of, 284

Democracy, development of in Germany, Ch. XX
Democratization, of schools, 297, 367
Deutsche Oberschule, 156, 294, 295, 370
Döring, pupils' selection experiments, 303 ff.
Dramatics, 114, 166 ff.; in *Schule am Meer*, 205 ff.
Dresden, relation to activity school, 126 ff.

Education, of girls, 244
Einheitsschule, 302, 362, 367
Elementary school, *see also Volksschule*, *Grundschule*; centers of interest in, 284; class in, 286; description of average, 255 ff.; electives in, 287 ff.; examinations in, 302 ff., 314; *Oberbau*, 274, 283; organization of, *see* Appendix; curricula of, Ch. XVII; selection of pupils for secondary, 302 ff.
Examinations, admission to secondary schools, 300 ff.; in elementary schools, 302 ff., 314; maturity, 314 ff.; in secondary schools, 296
Experimental schools, after the War, 130 ff.; before the War, 130 ff.; Berlin, 148; bureau of, 213; development of, 119 ff.; elementary, Ch. VIII-IX; Hamburg, 147 ff.; Kerschensteiner, influence on, 121 ff.; pre-War, 119; secondary, 149; *see also* Dortmund, Dresden, Leipzig, Munich

Fichte, influence on Youth Movement, 14
Fischer, Karl, relation to Youth Movement, 16
Folk Colleges, Ch. XIII; connection with other schools, 218; control of, 229; daily program of, 225; definition of *Volkshochschule*, 234; development of, 215 ff.; Dreissigacker, 226; Humboldt school, 231; instruction in, 220 ff.; number of, 217; origin of, 218; purpose of, 219; Remscheid, 227; relation to Danish movement, 223; relation to democracy, 217, 238; relation to nationalism, 219; relation to Youth Movement, 216, 220; rural, 218, 229; standards of work in, 232 ff.; students in, 230; teachers in, 222, 234; value of, 232 ff.
Frauenschule, character of, 276, 279
Free Germans, 20 ff.; relation to *Wandervogel*, 20 ff.; relation to Youth Movement, 20 ff.
Freie Schulgemeinde, definition of, 178

Gandersheim, description of school at, 209 ff.
Geheeb, school in Odenwald, 194; theory of education, 201 ff.
Gemeinschaftsschule, *see* Community Schools
Gesamtunterricht, 210, 371
Girls' education, 244
Girls' schools, type of, 275 ff.
Grundschule, 283, 297, 302; transfer to secondary school, 246, 247, 370; Gymnasium, 272, 290, 292, 293, 295

Hamburg, beginning of new schools in, 128; excursion from elementary school in, 60 ff.; Folk College in, 219; Lichtwark school, Ch. VII; museum in, 129; Telemann school, 134
Hameln, excursion from school in, 60
Haubinda, school at, 183
Heimatkunde, 370; place in school, 262, 290
Hohe Meissner, 14
Hostels for youth, Ch. III; cost of, 46 ff.; control of, 48 ff.; coöperation with schools, 43 ff.; history of, 40; influence on nationalism, 44; membership of, in Europe, 41 ff.; necessity for, 43; number of, 39; support of, 46; relation to *Wandervogel* movement, 39
Humanistic movement, 359
Hylla, selective tests, 310 ff.

Integration, of subject matter, 371; *see also Gesamtunterricht*, 210
Internationalism, 353, and the Folk College, 220

Jena, educational tour from, 63 ff.; excursion from elementary school, 58
Jöde, relation to music education, 109 ff.
Journeys, school, Ch. II

Karsen, influence on secondary schools, 171
Kerschensteiner, 362; activity in experimental schools, 121 ff.; in Hamburg, 128 ff.; work in Munich, 127
Kulturkunde, in elementary school, 284; place in curriculum, 160 ff.

Labor principle, in new school, 187
Landerziehungsheime, Ch. XI; *see* Country Home Schools
Landheim, of *Aufbauschule Neukölln*, 176; of elementary school in Magdeburg, 143; of Telemann school, 140
Law, Federal school, 249; on religion, 249
Lehmann, school at Solling, 206; work of, 206 ff.
Leipzig, relation to activity school, 125 ff.
Leipzig Teachers Association, influence on activity school, 125 ff.
Lichtwark, 146; definition of school, 15; influence on art education, 97 ff.
Lichtwarkschule, description of, 156 ff.; dramatic art, 166 ff.; *Kulturkunde* in, 160 ff.; physical education in, 166; school journeys in, 163 ff.; social studies in, 164
Lietz, association of Lietz' schools, 195; criticism of old school, 190; influence on *Landerziehungsheime*, 179 ff., 183
Lübeck, Cathedral School in, 62; physical education in, 88; work in cathedral school, 167 ff.
Luserke, 194, 205 ff.; relation to Youth Movement, 206; *Schule am Meer*, 205 ff.
Lutkens, on Youth Movement, 23 ff.
Lyzeum, 275

Magdeburg, community school in, 143; courses offered in, 145 ff.
Marx, and Youth Movement, 25 ff.
Middle school, description of in Lübeck, 256 ff., 273
Military training and sports, 92
Modern Germany, and Youth Movement, 27
Munich, relation to activity school, 127 ff.
Music, changes in teaching of, 111; creative in rural schools, 112; Jöde's influence in, 109 ff.; in *Wickersdorfschule*, 199 ff.

Natural dancing, 112 ff.
New school, contributions from Youth Movement, 26 ff.
Normal school, abolition of, 327 ff.
Nationalism, Ch. XX, 350; influence of Hostels for Youth on, 44; Youth Movement and, Ch. II

Oberbau, 274, 283
Oberlyzeum, 275
Oberrealschule, 273, 293, 295; in Lübeck, 167 ff.
Odenwaldschule, 194; coeducation in, 202; description of, 201 ff.; instruction in, 203
Otto, Berthold, 210; school of, 210 ff.

Pädagogische Akademie, *see* Teachers College
Parents-teachers Association in Cathedral school, Lübeck, 170
Parents, and the school, 263; associations of, 263; council, 264; coöperation with school, 264 ff.
Paulsen, influence on experimental schools, 147 ff.; definition of community schools, 149, 151
Personality, place in education, 361, 368
Philosophy of education in Germany, Ch. XX; social, 347
Physical education in *Lichtwarkschule*, 166
Physical training, in old school; new methods in, 87; apparatus work in, 89
Politics and youth movement, 26
Principal, new position of, 133, 135
Produktionsschule, 363 ff.
Psychology of new school, Ch. XX
Pupils in community schools, 138 ff.

Realgymnasium, 273, 295
Realschule, 273
Recreation, Ch. III; *see also* Sports
Reddie, influence on *Landerziehungsheime*, 180 ff.

Reform, permanency of school, Ch. XIV; constitution and, 243 ff.; extent of, Ch. XV
Religion, and the constitution, 247 ff.; and the school, 247 ff.; and youth movement, 24 ff.; in the school, 368
Revolution, and the school, Ch. I
Rhythm, in education, 113
Rural school, description of, 260 ff.

Scholarships, 247
School communities, free, 179 ff., 197 ff.; curriculum of, 197 ff.; Geheeb's relation to, 198; *Odenwaldschule*, 198; similarity to country school homes, 197 ff.; Wickersdorf, 197 ff.; Wyneken's relation to, 198 ff.
School, community, 254; definition of school in constitution, 252; elementary, private, 249 ff.; private, 249, Ch. XI, XII
School journeys, Ch. IV; cost of, 56; for elementary pupils, 58 ff.; for secondary school pupils, 62 ff.; for university students, 63 ff.; social value of, 52; wandering day, 53
School organization, constitutional basis of, 246; democratic character of, 246
Schule am Meer, 205 ff.; art and music in, 206; dramatics in, 206
Schullandheim, *see* Country Homes
Schwarz, influence on secondary schools, 167
Secondary school, aims of, 291; coeducation, 276; core and course system, 293; curricula of, Ch. XVII; curriculum changes, 290; *Deutsche-Oberschule*, as type of, 156 ff.; entrance requirements for, 269; *Frauenoberschule*, 279; *Frauenschule*, 276 ff.; growth of, 271; *Gymnasium*, 272; influence of higher institutions on, 271 ff.; internationalism in, 291; *Lichtwarkschule*, 156 ff.; *Lyzeum*, 275; maturity examination in, 314 ff.; nationalism and, 290; new, Ch. X; number of pupils in, 270; *Oberlyzeum*, 275; organization of, Ch. XVI; preparatory classes, 288 ff.; pupil load in, 296; *Realgymnasium*, 273; reform of, 280; relation to *Grundschule*, 270; standards of, 281; *Studienanstalt*, 275; tuition in, 270; types of, Ch. XVI
Selection, pupil, Ch. XVIII
Sex, and youth movement, 29
Simultanschule, 248
Social democrats, and education, 354
Socialism, 354
Socialization, as principle of education, 364
Society of Friends, relation to Folk College, 220
Society of Friends of Education, 338 ff.; influence on new education, 129
Solling, description of, 206 ff.
Speaking chorus, 113
Sports, Ch. VI; and political clubs, 91; at German universities, 90; clothing used for, 90 ff.; clubs, 91 ff.; interest in, 84 ff.; new forms of, 86; relation to youth movement, 92 ff.; swimming, 87
Stern, 300
Studienanstalt, 275
Supervision, 251

Teacher, Ch. XIX; activity groups, 337; conventions, 340; country home schools, 188 ff.; elementary, 331 ff.; Folk Colleges, 222; ideals of new, 325; influence of associations, 338; in service training, 335 ff.; in the old school, 319 ff.; men and women, 322; music and art, 144 ff.; necessity for new, 321; new plan of training of, 327 ff.; place in school, 322; practice for secondary, 334; relation to supervisor, 323 ff.; training of, 250; training of secondary, 333 ff.
Teachers college, curriculum of, 329 ff.; establishment of, 328 ff.; methods of instruction in, 329 ff.
Teacher-training, at Dresden, 330; at Hamburg, 330; character of work at Dresden, 331, 368; training at university centers, 330
Telemannstrasse, *Landheim* of, 140; school in, 134; work in, 135 ff.
Tests, for selection of pupils, 302 ff.
Tuition, 247; in secondary schools, 270
Turnverein, *see also* Sports

Vitalism, 366
Volksschule, see Elementary School, 1 ff.

Waldorfschule, instruction in, 211
Wandering, *see* School Journeys
Wandervögel, 14; birds of passage, 14; development of, 16; origin of, 16; relation to Youth Movement, 16 ff.
Welfare, federal law on, 253 ff.; juvenile, 253
Wickersdorf, 194; description of, 198 ff.
Wyneken, school at Wickersdorf, 194, 197

Youth Movement, Ch. II; criticism of, 34; effect of on personal morality, 28 ff.; effect upon education of, 27; exhibit of, 33 ff.; influence of Fichte on, 14; influence on Folk college, 220; Marx, in relation to, 25 ff.; membership of, 32; modern Germany, 37; nationalism, and, Ch. II; origin of, 13 ff.; *see also* Hostels for Youth; politics and, 26; relation to new school, 27; relation to social democrats, 25; relation to social groups, 31 ff.; sex and, 29 ff.; unity in, 31

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